

# IN THESE TIMES

Almost, in  
Michigan



Vol. 2, No. 38

Aug. 16-22, 1978

50 Cents

**Q.** What 20 year old film industry has won more than 125 international awards?

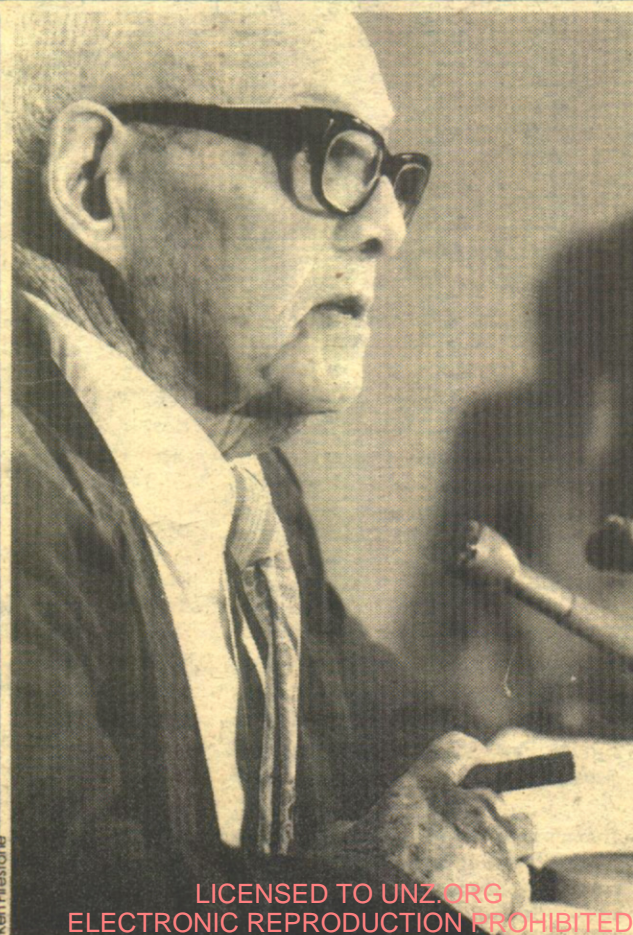


**A.** Cuba. The majority for documentaries (by Santiago Alvarez, *et al.*); but also for feature films such as *Memories of Underdevelopment* (National Society of Film Critics Award, N.Y.C.; International Society of Film Critics Award, Paris; the Silver Bear Award, West Berlin; Chicago International Film Festival Best Film Award, among others (*Above, from FOR THE FIRST TIME*))

## TOUGH CHOICES:

Will Meany dump,  
or dump on Carter?  
Page 3.

Walton leaves his  
beloved Blazers  
Page 24.



Ken Preston



And Nance

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# THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Zolton Ferency

## Socialist politics in Michigan: Wait until next season

Would Detroit Tiger pitcher Mark "the Bird" Fidrych return to 1976 form when he faces the Texas Rangers on Wednesday night?

That question seemed to concern Michigan citizens on the eve of last week's primary election. But along with the 20 percent of the electorate that bothered to vote, I had some interest in the election results. Two socialists were running in the Democratic primaries: Zolton Ferency, ex-Michigan Democratic party head turned anti-war activist turned democratic socialist, was running for governor, and General Baker, longtime Detroit civil rights leader and founder of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, was running for state representative from a predominantly black district that included Highland Park, one of Detroit's cities within the city. Both candidates were supposed to have a chance of winning.

### Take the money and run.

The idea for Ferency's campaign came out of a Democratic Socialist Caucus that Ferency helped organize within the Michigan Democratic Party. (See "Inside Story," May 31). With a proven reputation as a campaigner and with the aid of a new Michigan law that provided double matching funds once a candidate has raised an initial \$40,000, Ferency hoped to be able to wage a credible socialist campaign.

Ferency made Michigan's economic development his central issue. If Michigan's citizens wanted jobs and growth, Ferency argued, they would have to rely in-

creasingly, on public enterprise rather than on private capital.

Ferency's principal opponent was State Senator William Fitzgerald from affluent Grosse Pointe. With a \$900,000 campaign chest, compared with Ferency's \$210,000, Fitzgerald waged a relentless media campaign based on slogans like "Fitzgerald means business for Michigan." A typical Fitzgerald speech would begin, "I think Michigan is a good state, with good and decent people in it. The problem is that we've seen an erosion of our greatness."

In contrast to Ferency's attacks against big business, Fitzgerald stressed the need for a partnership between business, labor and government. He also appealed to the anti-welfare vote with an attack on Michigan's unemployment and worker compensation laws for being too lenient.

### Going against the tide.

In June, the campaign was dying from inattention. But then the victory of Jarvis-Gann in California created a new issue in Michigan by injecting life into two state tax initiatives, one to fix state spending and taxation at a percentage of personal income and the other simply to lower property taxes. By July 1, the Headlee initiative, which set spending and tax limits, had gathered well over the 240,000 signatures necessary to qualify for the November ballot.

In May, both Fitzgerald and Republican governor William Milliken had opposed the Headlee initiative, but by election time both had decided it was a good idea. Among the four Democratic gubernatorial candidates, Ferency was alone in opposing the initiative. "Mr. Headlee merely wants to put a ceiling on the rotten tax system," Ferency charged in a debate with Richard Headlee. "It's not the ceiling that needs to be fixed, it's the whole foundation." Ferency called for a graduated income tax to replace both the property tax and Michigan's flat 2 percent income tax.

Ferency's opposition to Headlee won him new supporters. His campaign contributions had risen sharply after he came out against it. But it also left Ferency in the position of going against the tide. "There was also gut reaction against Ferency," one campaign worker admitted.

### Black support.

I expected that the tax issue would do Ferency in. After all, the colorless Evelle Younger had been able to pull ahead of flashy Gov. Jerry Brown in California's gubernatorial race until Brown had convinced the voters he was Howard Jarvis in disguise. But upon arriving in Detroit Sunday afternoon, I found the Ferency staff smelling victory. "Our big problem now is overconfidence," one staffer told me.

There was some basis for their optimism. The press was treating Ferency with surprising respect. Far from red-baiting him, the *Detroit News* had permitted him to explain, in his own words, what a democratic socialist believed. In endorsing Fitzgerald, the *Detroit Free Press* had nevertheless given Ferency a pat on the back. "Mr. Ferency's strengths are real and they are heightened by the contrast with his primary opponents: a keen intelligence, a nimble wit, a pervasive sense of humanity. We suspect those endearing qualities will draw more voters to him than most regular Democrats like to think."

Ferency had also shown strength in Detroit's black community, where he had been weak in past elections. Representatives usually don't take sides in statewide primaries, but John Conyers gave Ferency early support. The Black Slate, the political arm of the powerful Black Christian Nationalist Church, endorsed Ferency and circulated its endorsement throughout the black community.

And the polls themselves showed Ferency and Fitz-

gerald running neck-and-neck. One showed Ferency with 24 and Fitzgerald with 23 percent; another showed Fitzgerald with 24 and Ferency with 20. With 40 percent of the vote still undecided, it looked as if the election could go either way. One pollster speculated about Ferency's chances: "He appeals to a very traditional social justice Democrat. That also happens to be the kind of Democrat who will vote in primaries and may-be swing it."

### Communist autoworker.

I had originally steered clear of the General Baker campaign. After the break-up of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, Baker had joined the Communist Labor Party (CLP), one of those Marxist-Leninist organizations that was still reeling from Khrushchev's "revisionist" attack on Stalin. But several Detroit friends had been impressed with the campaign, and urged me to approach Baker with an open mind.

I did find Baker to be warm, genial, and humble, qualities that one doesn't associate with politicians. After being fired twice and reinstated under pressure, Baker still works at the Dodge plant from which he organized the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM), the precursor of the League.

A resident of Highland Park, Baker first ran for state representative in 1976. But he did so then as a Communist Labor Party candidate and not as a Democrat and in a campaign that emphasized his communist affiliation and the CLP's national program as much as it did local issues. In a three-way race with a Republican and a long-time Democratic incumbent, Baker nevertheless got a respectable 10 percent.

But this time Baker ran as a Democrat and was more concrete on local issues, while still maintaining that "the fundamental problems cannot be solved under the capitalist system." When I talked to him, he ticked off a list of local issues, from foodstamp cutoffs to redlining to tax abatements for the local Chrysler plant.

### Dictatorship of the proletariat.

I was still troubled, however, by the CLP connection. I asked Baker whether he thought a disciplined member of a closed organization like the CLP could also be accountable to his constituents. Baker said that if he won he would build a coalition in the district that he would relate to.

When I asked CLP state chairman Ron Glotta the same question, he replied, "Nobody is accountable to workers in the district. They see us as more accountable because we have positions."

I also asked Baker and Glotta how they explained their communist or socialist convictions. "It depends who you're talking to," Glotta said. "There are people who don't understand the difference between fascism and socialism. If you're talking to a Marxist-Leninist, you're talking about the dictatorship of the proletariat."

I had trouble getting any further definition, so I asked the usual question, "What about the Soviet Union?" Baker acknowledged that Soviet socialism had "eroded" somewhat, but he said it was "still the most expressed form of what socialism is."

I did get a somewhat clearer idea of their domestic strategy than I did of their socialism. Like other American Marxist-Leninist parties, it seemed a blend of obsolescent ideas like that of a "Negro nation" in the South, historical exaggeration ("In response to the deepening struggle...the monopolies are attempting to transform the state from a reactionary bourgeois democratic one to a fascist form"), and a surprising common sense about what is immediately important that sometimes prevented the wilder notions from coming to the day-to-day surface.

Like the AFL-CIO, the CLP believes that organizing the labor movement in the South is the most important

*Continued on page 22.*

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# IN THE NATION

## LABOR

# George Meany grits teeth, talks tough

Ken Firestone

By David Moberg

**A**S LABOR INITIATIVES ARE stymied in Congress and attacked with more confident surliness by the right wing and major corporations, the generally cautious, even conservative, executive council of the AFL-CIO has begun to show signs that it would like to do battle more fiercely. However, despite the more militant talk and hint of new alliances, the council still seems both uncertain about what to do and unwilling to undertake any bold departures.

Douglas Fraser, president of the non-AFL-CIO Autoworkers union, was "quite accurate" in his picture of big business waging intensified "class warfare" against the labor movement, AFL-CIO president George Meany told reporters at the summer quarterly council meeting held in Chicago Aug. 7 and 8. Corporate business executives "have joined with the right wing anti-labor forces, which were opposed to anything for labor, opposed to anything that would help the minorities, opposed to anything that would make life a little better for people in the inner cities," Meany said. "And I think it is part of class warfare."

### Quits Labor-Management Group.

Although Meany criticized Fraser for individually leaving the Labor-Management Group, an unofficial government advisory body, he indicated that the other labor leaders, including Meany, will follow suit. "If I were betting on it," he said, "I wouldn't bet on us being at any of those meetings in the future."

The more open rift, symbolized by the demise of the Labor-Management Group, is largely the result of wholesale business opposition to labor law reforms that would have facilitated organizing unions. Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall, who met with the council, called the concerted capitalist opposition to labor law reform "an almost unprecedented campaign of distortion and underhanded deception."

Yet it has worked. "We decided we lost," Meany said, summarizing the council's discussion of labor law reform. The bill, pulled back into committee after attempts to end a Senate filibuster failed by one vote, may be replaced by some administrative proposals. However, the AFL-CIO has decided not to let these proposals be described as "labor law reform." Some members of the council argued that anything short of substantial labor law reform should be repudiated outright.

Although there was talk of re-introducing labor law reform in the next Congress, Machinists' president William Winpisinger thought that it could be a long time—seven years or more—before the proposed changes would come up again. "It was clear that the American people weren't putting sufficient pressure on the legislature to give workers their rights," Winpisinger said. "Mr. and Mrs. America haven't had enough exposure to labor warfare apparently. Maybe if they want to keep 1932 legislation, then we'll have to revert to 1932 conditions"—meaning much more open, intense militancy in organizing and pushing labor demands.

Meany's anger over the setbacks for labor was selective. He chided Carter for ineffectiveness in dealing with Congress but credited the President as "trying—doing the best he can" to manage the economy and government. Like the non-AFL-CIO's Fraser, Meany seemed more upset that the Democratic party can't maintain voting discipline among its members. Unlike Fraser, Meany rejected any talk of a labor party.



AFL-CIO president George Meany meets with press after executive council meeting in Chicago, August 8. He said that he and other AFL-CIO leaders would probably quit the Labor-Management Group.

### AFL-CIO leaders meet to discuss heightened tensions between labor and capital. Meany describes rift as "part of class warfare."

Although Meany refrained from giving Carter a "grade" (like the C-minus last winter), the executive council sharply criticized Carter's "retreat on principles" over the issue of national health insurance. It also attacked the "tight money, high interest rate policy of the Federal Reserve Board" under Carter's new appointee, G. William Miller, as "the greatest threat to the economy."

Meany reserved his biggest guns for Barry Bosworth, director of the Council on Wage and Price Stability. Less than two weeks before the executive council meeting, Meany had told Carter that he was upset with Bosworth's intervention in collective bargaining. "For instance," Meany explained, "he injected himself into the railroad negotiations, stepped right in there pretty much on the employer side. He's made speeches, for instance, to a group of supermarket operators, in which he openly said that they should resist the wage demands of their employees. He has done everything that he possibly could to come down on the side of the employer in wage negotiations."

Bosworth also has angered union leaders, arguing, in Meany's words, "that any regulation put out by OSHA (Occupational Safety and Health Administration) has got to be measured...on the basis of how much it costs the employer." Such an "intolerable" stance weakened cotton dust standards and threatens, within the next few weeks, to become a major issue in the promulgation of new lead poisoning standards for industry.

Meany's conciliatory tone towards Carter may have been a trade-off for Carter's agreement to pull in the reins on Bosworth. Secretary Marshall pledged to the

executive council that the administration will now "coordinate our statements and activities with respect to collective bargaining" through a five-member committee headed by Marshall and including chief economic advisor Charles Schultze, special presidential trade and inflation representative Robert Strauss, special assistant to the President Landon Butler, and Bosworth.

### Prices, not wages to blame.

Marshall—whom Meany cited as the sole reason for improved relations between the White House and the AFL-CIO—takes a different approach from Bosworth to fighting inflation. "As a general proposition," Marshall said, "you will have greater success in moderating wage increases by moderating price increases, rather than *vice versa*." Meany had said basically the same earlier in the day in rejecting wages as a cause of inflation and urging the administration—and Bosworth—to put more pressure on holding down prices rather than focusing on wages.

Marshall urges a "sectoral" approach to inflation that relies on representatives of government, industry and labor organizations to discuss common goals for the industry well in advance of labor contract talks. Essentially, the Marshall approach uses the government as an informal planning partner working to rationalize an industry in ways that increase productivity sufficiently to cover wage hikes yet still keep profits high and prices stable.

Meany finds such cooperation acceptable, but in the growing climate of hostility Marshall recognizes that collaboration may be politically dangerous for union leaders. That is one reason why he was angry that no big businesses backed labor law reform.

Meany strongly defended workers' right to boost wages to keep up with prices. "First-year wage increases negotiated in the first half of 1978, excluding the Mine Workers settlement, have averaged 7.2 percent," the council stated, "less than the increase in consumer prices." Addressing the American Federation of Government Employees Convention in Chicago, Meany attacked the Carter administration's attempt to impose a

5.5 percent cap on federal pay increases. Earlier, in a rare comment on a particular contract settlement, he said that he was "a little disappointed" with the postal contract. He also believes that there is a good chance that the contract will be rejected by postal workers.

On the political front, "there seems to be a resurgence of the right-wing feelings throughout the country," Meany told a press conference. "We have had this before, and I'm sure we are going to combat it. It is an age-old battle [with] the people who believe in the sanctity of capital, the sanctity of money." The right-wing resurgence showed itself not only in labor law reform, he said, but also in tax reform and resistance to the Equal Rights Amendment.

Meany's preliminary response, like that of Douglas Fraser, was to look to a broader coalition of all those groups under attack from the right. "In other words we have to fight for the blacks; we have to help the women get equal rights. We have to fight to improve the conditions for labor. We have to fight to improve the health of all the citizens of the country. We have to fight for consumer rights and so on and so forth. And we just have to fight a little harder due to the fact, as I said, that there is a resurgence of the right-wing elements," he said.

Despite the slightly rising tone of militancy, the AFL-CIO is unlikely to make any dramatic departures soon. Most of the executive council's position papers stayed close to the standard lines: despite plaudits for affirmative action, the Bakke decision was praised; cold war politics was maintained with a call to boycott the Moscow Olympics; and the President was asked to restrain trade that harms the U.S. economy.

"I hear more noise about doing things aggressively, whatever that means," Winpisinger commented after the first day's meeting. "That's talk. What you do about it is more important." And it is not yet clear that the executive council of the AFL-CIO under George Meany either knows what to do about the problems facing their unions' members, or wants to fight the political and industrial conflict and undertake the ideological movement that will be necessary to win.



By James Aronson

## THE PRESS

**M**YRON A. FARBER, A REPORTER for the *New York Times*, is in jail, and the *Times* is paying \$5,000 a day in fines because Farber has refused to turn over his notes and records concerning murder charges against Dr. Mario E. Jascavech, now being tried in Hackensack, N.J. Farber was jailed, and the *Times*' fine imposed after U.S. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall cancelled a temporary stay of contempt sentence imposed by the New Jersey trial judge.

In the last six years there have been more than 40 rulings against journalists growing out of attempts by governmental agencies and the courts to obtain information whose confidentiality, the press insists, is protected by the First Amendment. A dozen reporters have gone to jail—for hours or for weeks.

Most cases have involved the refusal of reporters to obey subpoenas to appear before grand juries—state or federal—with their notes, tapes and unpublished material to testify generally in criminal cases. The journalists maintain that if they obey such orders their confidential sources would dry up, their constitutional privilege to gather news unhampered would be impaired and the public's right to know would be impeded. The government and the courts have held that prosecution and defense have the right, under the Sixth Amendment, to a compulsory process to obtain evidence. This means that if a reporter or a newspaper cites the First Amendment in refusing to accede to this process, the First Amendment must yield to the compelling need to carry out "the fair administration of justice."

### The *Times* fights the courts.

Some years ago the *New York Times*' M.A. Farber dug into the mysterious deaths of 13 persons in a Jersey hospital in 1965-66. Partly as a result of his articles, Jersey officials were moved to reopen their criminal investigation and Dr. Jascavech was indicted on charges of having injected excessive doses of curare, a muscle relaxer, into five victims, thus relaxing them permanently. The number was later reduced to three.

Jersey law enforcement officials were hardly ecstatic about an out-of-state reporter exposing their casual handling of an alleged mass murder case. But the Jascavech defense yanked the trial out of its six-month doldrums by telling the court it could not properly contest the charges against the defendant without an examination of all the material in possession of Farber and the *Times*.

On June 30, trial judge William J. Arnold ordered Farber and the *Times* to turn over to him the material the defense had subpoenaed so that he could make a judgment. Sorry, said Farber and the *Times*, we can't do that. In addition to the First Amendment, they cited a New Jersey reporters' shield law (26 states have similar laws) protecting a journalist's privilege to keep such material confidential.

On July 24, Jersey Supreme Court Judge Theodore R. Trautwein upheld Judge Arnold, ordered Farber immediately to jail and fined both Farber and the *Times* heavily. So eager was the judge to lower the boom that he imposed sentence *before* he found Farber guilty. "I'm putting the cart before the horse," he apologized. But when Jascavech's attorney, who had initiated the proceedings, spoke up against jail for Farber, the judge said, "I'm not asking your advice on sentencing."

The *Times* and its reporter insist that nothing in their possession can help the defense support its "frameup" charge. The Jascavech defense responds: What right have the *Times* and its reporter to determine what will or will not assist a defendant? That should be for an impartial court to decide.

Impartial, says the *Times*? Is the court not an arm of government? And if it is, the press must remain independent at the risk of becoming its agent.

Legal and journalistic commentators have questioned the usefulness of a state

# Press Freedom is the victim of New York Times case



Myron A. Farber, the *NEW YORK TIMES* reporter now in jail.

## The First Amendment and state laws protecting journalists' privileges are on trial.

shield law if judges—without hearing on the constitutionality of the law—can overrule the state legislature that enacted it. In effect, Jersey justice has ruled that a newspaper must turn over its confidential material to judges who then will decide whether the state shield law protects that material. In the process the confidentiality of the material and the shield law are abrogated.

### Farber jailed.

Immediate judicial maneuvers kept Farber out of jail and the *Times*' exchequer undiminished while both sought a formula to get the U.S. Supreme Court to hear the issues. After Justice Brennan excused himself (reportedly because his son is professionally involved with a Jascavech defense attorney) and Justice White refused to stay Farber's jail sentence and ordered the *Times* to begin paying a fine of \$5,000 a day until the confidential material was turned over to the trial judge, Justice Marshall granted Farber and the *Times* a temporary stay. But on Aug. 4, Marshall refused to continue the stay, stating that he could not "in good faith" conclude that the Court would agree to hear the appeal.

It was Justice White who wrote the major opinion in a 1972 Supreme Court decision that still stands in cases involving reporters' privilege. And it is significant that the *Times* in its ample coverage of the Farber case has neglected to record—for undisclosed reasons—that one of its first-line reporters was a central figure in

the 1972 decision. The reporter was Earl Caldwell, then in charge of the paper's San Francisco bureau. Caldwell, no longer with the *Times*, is black, and the matter involved coverage of the Black Panthers.

### Caldwell case set precedent.

Caldwell was ordered by a federal judge in San Francisco in February 1970 to testify before a grand jury about interviews he had had with two Panther leaders then under investigation—and to bring with him tape recordings and notes of the interviews. He refused. The *Times* assigned lawyers to assist him and pledged "all its resources to make sure that no judicial action violates the constitutional guarantees of a free press." But it did not say it would instruct Caldwell not to appear.

Aware that under these circumstances he might be left out alone on a judicial limb, Caldwell engaged his own attorney, constitutional authority Anthony Amsterdam of Stanford University. The Federal District Court refused to quash the subpoena but it did rule that while Caldwell must appear he could not be compelled to disclose confidential information unless there was "a compelling national interest that cannot be served by alternate means."

The *Times* was elated ("A landmark decision," it said), but Caldwell was not. He refused again to obey and appealed on the ground that participation in a secret proceeding would make him appear to be an investigative agent of the government. The *Times* did not associate it-

self with the appeal.

Caldwell's petition was rejected and he was found in contempt of court. Once again he appealed, and since the only ruling on the new appeal was whether he could be forced to appear, the *Times* came back into the picture. This time the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco supported Caldwell and ruled that the government must show a pressing need for evidence *before* issuing a subpoena for a journalist to testify in secret. The opinion was strong.

As expected, the government appealed. The Caldwell case was joined with two others—that of Paul Pappas, a New Bedford, Mass., television reporter who had also been convicted for refusing to give information about the Panthers, and Paul Branzburg, a *Louisville Courier-Journal* reporter, who had refused to disclose the names of some young people allegedly involved in the manufacture and peddling of hashish.

The *Times*' brief to the High Court in 1972 was prepared by the late Alexander Bickel of Yale Law School. It asserted that the government was seeking to use news gatherers as "an investigative arm of government," but agreed that news personnel should be required to respond to grand jury subpoenas if there was first a showing that they had probable knowledge of a specific crime, that the information could not be obtained from other sources, and that the government had a compelling need for the information. Such compelling need, the brief said, could be justified in the investigation of a major crime—but not in cases involving prostitution, narcotics and gambling. This, of course, was a non-absolutist position on the First Amendment. Caldwell remained absolute.

In June 1972 the Supreme Court, five to four, struck down the Ninth Circuit Court ruling. For the majority, Justice White wrote:

"There is no First Amendment privilege to refuse to answer the relevant and material questions asked during a good-faith grand jury investigation... The existing constitutional rights have not been a serious obstacle to either the development or retention of confidential news sources by the press."

Justice Douglas, then the Court's remaining absolutist, said in dissent: "Now that the fences of the law and the tradition that has protected the press are broken down, the people are the victims. The First Amendment, as I read it, was designed precisely to prevent that tragedy."

### Journalists aren't saints.

Caldwell never went to jail, nor did Branzburg or Pappas. The Nixon administration in a presidential year was shrewd enough not to antagonize further the press or the black electorate. And soon thereafter it was drowning in its own legal and judicial problems rising from Watergate. The 1972 Supreme Court ruling, however, remains the prevailing judicial interpretation on reporters' privilege today.

It is, of course, a most serious matter when a person's life or freedom are at stake, as in the Jascavech case. Journalists are not saints. They are as vulnerable to corruption as politicians and judges. In my many years as a journalist I do not have knowledge of a single colleague who willfully withheld information that could have spared a person's life. I do recall journalists who, out of ideological prejudice, assisted governmental efforts to railroad a person to prison. The Alger Hiss case comes to mind. These reporters served as press agents for Rep. Richard Nixon and the House Committee on Un-American Activities and passed grand jury leaks on to Nixon who was pressing for an indictment of Hiss.

Yet despite some glaring deficiencies and obvious inadequacies of the press, the judicial lynch-mob atmosphere in the Hackensack courthouse the day the judge sentenced Farber and the *Times* reinforces Justice Douglas' call to rally round the broken fences of the First Amendment.

James Aronson is a professor of communications at Hunter College, author of several books about the media and a co-founder of *The Guardian*.



## NUCLEAR POWER

# Abalone breaches nuclear defences

By Larry Remer

**I**N AFFINITY GROUPS OF SIX OR SEVEN, they fanned out across the alfalfa-covered hills. Several dozen made amphibious landings on a narrow beach inside the perimeter. Their target: Pacific Gas and Electric's nuclear generating plant at Diablo Canyon near San Luis Obispo. And when their Hiroshima Day assault was over, nearly 500 anti-nuclear protesters had been arrested—the largest nuclear plant occupation on the west coast to date.

Led by the Abalone Alliance, a grass-roots network of radical environmentalists and ecologists, California's anti-nuclear forces have been battling the \$1.4 billion Diablo Canyon plant—which, incidentally, lies astride an earthquake fault—for several years. Last Hiroshima Day, 61 protesters were arrested for occupying the site.

But this year, with the plant scheduled to become operational in mid-fall Alliance organizers knew they'd have to pull out all the stops. Their choice of peaceful, non-violent direct action as a tactic proved critical in mobilizing popular support. Their long, hard organizing drive bore fruit on Hiroshima Day, Sunday, Aug. 6, when 3,500 demonstrators gathered outside to protest nuclear power, while hundreds were scaling the walls, burrowing under the fences, and landing on the beach in small boats in an effort to get inside the plant.

More than 135 San Luis Obispo County sheriff's deputies, in full riot gear, were deployed on the plant grounds to arrest demonstrators as they breached the boundaries. They were backed up by local police and PG&E security personnel. Those arrested were charged with trespassing. Most were released the next day on their own recognizance, though some balked and tried to stay in jail to continue the protest. There were no reports of violence or vandalism. By the end of the week all had been forced to leave.

The stated goal of the Alliance was to stop completion of the plant. "By placing our bodies directly in the machinery of Diablo Canyon," declared Tony Metcalf, 27, a protestor from nearby Avila, "We hope to be able to stop the construction through non-violent means."

But failing that, the specter of popular opposition raised by the arrests and the rally should help galvanize public opinion against nuclear power.

"We have to emphasize our determination to convert from nuclear power to safe, renewable energy sources like solar," noted Beverly Susan, 23, who came to Diablo with an affinity group from tiny Westhaven, Calif., near Humboldt, far to the north. "And we have to convert nuclear plant jobs to occupations that are more socially useful."

To underscore their Diablo opposition, on Monday, an additional 100 demonstrators were arrested for blockading the gates to the plant.

Elsewhere in California, on Saturday more than 1,500 people marched in front of Seal Beach Naval Weapons Center, south of Los Angeles, where nuclear weapons are stored. Organized by the Southern California Alliance for Survival, several speakers at the rally demanded that defense spending be rechanneled into social programs.

And in San Diego on Sunday, Hiroshima Day, the Community Energy Action Network kicked off a "People's Right to Know Campaign." Pickets at the San Onofre nuclear generating facility demanded that the visitor information center there carry anti-nuclear materials alongside the pro-nuclear propaganda it hands out.

Such concerted grass-roots opposition to nuclear power could push the issue of

**Waves of protesters entered PG&E's Diablo Canyon nuclear plant. Over 500 non-violent activists were arrested on Hiroshima Day.**

nuclear energy to the forefront of California's pending gubernatorial campaign. Earlier this year, buttressed by strong popular opposition, Gov. Brown spearheaded a campaign that stopped construction of the Sundesert nuclear plant. In retaliation, the state's energy lobby—utilities and oil companies—have lined up behind Brown's opponent, Attorney General Evelle Younger, a nuclear energy proponent.

Brown, an enigmatic and crafty politician, has previously supported nuclear alternatives like solar energy and wind power—a posture his critics have called esoteric and frivolous. With inflation running high and the California economy still reeling from Prop. 13-imposed layoffs and service cutbacks, this will be a bread-and-butter election. For Brown to remain outspoken in his support for nuclear energy alternatives, he will have to sense that the public supports him on the issue. To this end, the Diablo action and other Hiroshima Day activities were a good beginning. ■



Using homemade portable ladders, anti-nuclear forces "go over the top" at Diablo Canyon nuclear facility. Practicing civil-disobedience, they were quickly arrested.

## Oregon's nuclear Trojan horse

By Rick Mitchell

P O R T L A N D

**S**UCCESSIVE WAVES OF DEMONSTRATORS moved onto the site of the Trojan nuclear power plant, 40 miles northwest of Portland, Ore., in an effort to shut down the largest operational nuclear facility in the U.S. Over 200 people were arrested during the four-day action that began Aug. 6, the 23rd anniversary of the destruction of Hiroshima. The series of daily demonstrations is the third major non-violent action staged by the Trojan Decommissioning Alliance (TDA) in the last 12 months.

Demonstrators entered the site by a number of methods. Most used a set of portable stairs to jump over the main gate. A few swam in across a pond. All were arrested immediately by county sheriffs and Oregon State Patrolmen and taken to one of six county jails. They were charged with second degree trespass. Bail was set at \$2,500 per person.

Despite the overcrowded conditions at some of the jails, with a shortage of blankets and inedible food, the prisoners' spirits were reported to be high. Except in a few cases of family or job commitments, bail solidarity ("no one leaves until we all do") was maintained. TDA has no bail fund, and it is not known how long the protesters will remain in jail after they are arraigned.

Most of those arrested are pleading not guilty, and they will seek a jury trial. No defense strategy has yet been decided upon. Occupiers in the December occupation were acquitted after using a "lesser of two evils" Oregon statute to introduce expert testimony on the dangers of nuclear energy. This defense was not allowed in the June occupation trial, and demonstrators were found guilty of trespassing and given 30 days suspended sentences and 30 days probation. There is a possibility that



Demonstrators assemble in front of Trojan plant during four-day protest.

this time the TDA legal team will use testimony from the Tchinouk Indian Tribe. They claim that the Trojan plant sits on land belonging to the Tchinouk, not PGE, by right of a 19th century treaty. The tribe sent a letter to the Alliance extending permission to come onto the land if they promised to treat it with "respect and reverence."

In the week preceding the demonstration, Portland General Electric (PGE), the major owner of Trojan, sought a court injunction against any demonstration at the site organized by the TDA, and two other Oregon anti-nuclear groups: the Coalition for Safe Power and the Columbia Environmental Council. The judge, while unsympathetic to PGE's request, could find no grounds for an injunction against the organization. He did, however, issue a temporary injunction against 27 indi-

viduals proven to have participated in both previous occupations.

The strategy of civil disobedience appears to have met with some success. Since TDA began sponsoring actions at Trojan last year, public concern over low-level radiation leakage, on-site waste storage, and rate-hikes for plant construction costs has steadily increased. A poll taken last January showed that more people in Oregon oppose Trojan's new policy of storing its spent fuel rods on the site than support it. The local newspapers have begun to question PGE more frequently about the problems of nuclear energy. Recently the Oregon Democratic Party endorsed a Trojan shut-down and a moratorium on new construction of nuclear plants until the waste storage and radiation safety questions are satisfactorily answered. ■



## U.S./RHODESIA

# Congress forces Carter backdown on trade embargo

By Ken Cummins

WASHINGTON

**T**HE CONGRESSIONAL ASSAULT on the trade embargo against civil war-torn Rhodesia during the past three weeks has forced the Carter administration into promoting a compromise it had earlier opposed.

The administration hopes to mend its battered Southern Africa policy by supporting a Senate-passed amendment lifting the trade barriers against Rhodesia.

The Senate version, sponsored by Sen. Clifford Case, maverick New Jersey Republican, would lift the barriers for a nine-month trial period beginning next Jan. 1, provided that free elections are held in Rhodesia and that the Rhodesian government negotiates "in good faith" with all parties for the establishment of black majority rule. The administration originally opposed the Case amendment because "we wanted no change in our Rhodesia policy." But President Carter reluctantly supported the Case amendment in order to forestall an effort by Senate conservatives to end the embargo immediately.

The House, meanwhile, delivered a severe body blow to President Carter's Rhodesia policy two weeks ago when it voted, 229 to 180, to lift the trade sanctions at the end of this year provided that free elections are held.

Unlike the Senate version, the House-passed amendment puts no pressure on Prime Minister Ian Smith and his white minority government to include the leaders of the Patriotic Front in the negotiations for the transfer of power.

An internal settlement between Smith and three moderate black leaders provided for the transfer of power through elections this December but excluded the guerilla forces of the Patriotic Front, led by Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe.

The Carter administration has maintained that it would not support any settlement that does not include the Patriotic Front, and the President has refrained from openly endorsing the Salisbury agreement. He also stood firmly against reversing the 12-year-old UN-imposed trade restrictions against Rhodesia.

## Conservatives assail Carter.

It was Carter's position toward the Soviet-equipped and Cuban-trained guerilla forces of the Patriotic Front that led to the President's troubles with Congress. Disapproval of the administration's Rhodesia policy has been growing on Capitol Hill because many felt that Carter's policy tilted too much in favor of the Patriotic Front.

"U.S. policy toward Rhodesia is absolutely disgusting," said Rep. John Ashbrook, R-Ohio, during the House floor debate. "The Carter administration is supporting pro-Communist terrorists and guerillas while turning its back on the moderate bi-racial government."

During the Senate debate on lifting the sanctions, a "middle ground" proposal was pushed by Case and Sen. Jacob Javits (R-NY) in an effort to blunt a more hardline position being promoted by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC).

In the House Carter forces unsuccessful

fully tried to get an amendment in the House patterned after the Case-Javits amendment. Some congressional observers criticized the administration for underestimating the strength of resentment to its Rhodesia policy in the House. A State Department official described the floor maneuvering by House conservatives led by Rep. Richard Ichord, who controlled the debate on the issue, as a "well organized move by people who wanted to lift the sanctions."

If the Ichord amendment survives the House-Senate conference, President Carter would be forced to end the trade embargo next Jan. 1 after determining that the elections scheduled for this December were indeed free elections. Under the wording of the Case-Javits amendment, the President would be required to suspend the sanctions Jan. 1, 1979, after the new government has been elected and after determining that the Smith government had attempted to negotiate with all parties in "good faith." Either way, the burden of the decision is put squarely upon the President with a hostile Congress watching over his shoulder. Despite the sharp rebuke of its policy by the House vote, the Carter administration reaffirmed its current position as the only way to end the fighting and create the conditions for free elections.

The erosion of the administration's policy toward Rhodesia began on June 28 when Sen. Helms unexpectedly moved that trade sanctions be lifted immediately for a one-year period. The move failed by the surprisingly close vote of 48 to 42. Helms let it be known at that time that during the upcoming Senate debate on a military foreign aid bill he would try to have the sanctions suspended for six months.

## Smith seeks to end UN embargo.

The lifting of the sanctions at this time was considered crucial to the Smith regime because, as a recent staff report by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations noted, "After 12 years, the Rhodesian economy had finally begun to reveal the crippling effect of these sanctions."

The trade barriers were imposed by the UN and adopted by President Johnson after Smith declared Rhodesia independent of Great Britain in 1965, and were intended to force the new government to move toward democratically-elected black majority rule. But American firms and other businesses have encountered few problems in getting around the sanctions, and the illegal Smith regime survived in defiance of world opinion.

With the growing economic pressure on Salisbury earlier this year Smith began appealing to his conservative friends in the U.S. for an end to the sanctions. If the U.S. would take the lead in lifting the embargo, Smith concluded, England and other countries would quickly follow suit.

The American Conservative Union (ACU) and other conservative groups, after their near-victory on the Panama Canal treaties, decided to go after those senators who faced angry constituencies back home because of their support for the treaties. The idea, an ACU lobbyist explained, was to convince those senators that they could regain support in their home districts by moving to a more con-



Rep. John Ashbrook (R-OH) has fought government support for "pro-Communist terrorists."

## After their near-victory on Panama, congressional conservatives have adopted the Rhodesia settlement as their new cause. They almost got Sen. Edward Brooke to agree.

servative position on Rhodesia.

In early May, businessmen, conservatives and drug-store war novelist Robin Moore met with Sen. Edward Brooke. They came away convinced that Brooke would soon offer a resolution embracing the internal agreement and loosening the trade restrictions. Moore, author of *The Green Berets* and other hard-line militarist books, has been in Rhodesia since mid-1976 writing articles and books that support Smith's internal settlement.

Moore explained that Brooke's role as an "American black endorsing the internal settlement" would have proved a shot in the arm to the cause. But before Brooke was able to make his eagerly anticipated endorsement, the news of his divorce scandals splashed across the front pages, and the conservatives shied away from him.

"There was no other black in the Congress who could be persuaded to do this," explained Kent Crane, former CIA case officer in Africa, now an international investment businessman and the architect

of the Republican National Committee's policy on Southern Africa.

So the task of prodding Congress into lifting the embargo fell to Jesse Helms. Helms is popular among conservatives, has amassed a \$4.6 million campaign fund and there is speculation that he is planning a 1980 GOP presidential bid.

The closeness of the June 28th vote alarmed the administration. The hostile mood in the Senate forced Case to present his amendment to head off Helms. With the wording hammered out to soothe the concerns of the White House, the Case-Javits amendment drew the support of Senate liberals and passed 59 to 36.

During the Senate debate, Helms was in constant contact with the Smith government in Salisbury. Many in Congress, in both the House and Senate supported Smith and embraced the internal settlement. The continuation of the economic sanctions now depends on the outcome of the December elections.

**Ken Cummins is a Washington reporter working for States News Service.**



## GREAT BRITAIN

# Britain's Bengalis: the latest victims of racist violence

By Mervyn Jones

L O N D O N

**G**HETTO IS AN EMOTIVE WORD, AND AT THE moment it is being splashed over the headlines of London newspapers. The reason is the decision by the Greater London Council's housing department to concentrate people of a certain racial origin—Bengalis—in earmarked public housing projects. The move is backed by both Tory and Labour GLC members because it has been made at the request of the Bengalis themselves. However, it is a departure from normal British policy, which favors dispersal and ethnic mixing.

Behind the headlines, there's an ugly story of intimidation and violence. It has been going on for years, and the fact that it has only just broken surface because of the "ghetto" decision bears witness to the general indifference to the conditions of ethnic minorities.

The district where the Bengalis live, Spitalfields, is on the eastern borders of London. There is a dramatic contrast (like the contrast between Wall Street and New York's Chinatown) between the city, the financial center and office district where a million people work and only a few thousand sleep, and the crowded, poverty-stricken streets of Spitalfields.

Spitalfields could be claimed as the world's oldest industrial district. Around the year 1700, it became the center of the clothing industry—in both wool and silk—in which religious dissenters were prominent. It was the place of refuge for French Protestants driven into exile by Catholic persecution, and at this period French was the main language heard in its narrow streets. History lives on in names like Weaver St., Worship St., Quaker St., Fournier St., Fleur-de-Lis St.

By the 19th century, the industry had changed in that its products were cheap cottons. Both employers and workers were now, in the great majority, Jews from eastern Europe. This was the period of notorious sweatshops, in which women especially toiled long hours for starvation wages. Early socialists were active in campaigning against these abuses.

Since World War II, the Jews have largely vanished from Spitalfields and its workshops, although some Jewish names remain among the employers. A new sub-proletariat arrived—Bengali by language, Moslem by religion, coming from what was East Pakistan and is now Bangladesh. The whole story is told by a handsome building in the heart of Spitalfields, on which the date 1741 is still legible. It was built as a French Protestant church (there were 30 in the neighborhood at one time); it figures as the Great Synagogue in Arnold Wesker's illustrated book about his childhood; and it is now the Great Mosque.

The Bengalis were open to exploitation by both employers and landlords. Most of them spoke no English, and the women were debarred by purdah from social life.

Wages that were atrocious by British standards were nevertheless far better than any they had known before migrating, and the rooms in the old houses were comfortable after the hovels of Dacca. These houses, however, are undoubtedly slums. They would have been demolished if their history, and remnants of their original beauty, hadn't qualified them for conservation.

In the last 20 years, Bengalis have ceased to be uncomprehending victims. A new English-speaking generation has emerged from the schools. Workers have learned to join trade unions, and the community has been standing up for its rights and exerting pressure on the local bureaucracy. Meanwhile, population growth and the demand for decent living conditions has obliged the Council to house Bengali families in the public housing that constitutes the accommodation for most people in London's East End.

## Racist slogans on the door.

Here they came up against the people of adjacent districts, either native English or Irish. Racist feeling developed, fostered by the National Front, which has made a big propaganda drive in the East End over the past decade. There is also a ranking order in the housing projects. Some, built around asphalt yards in the 1920s and 1930s, have the atmosphere of antiquated tenements and have deteriorated badly; others, more recent and with good gardens and playgrounds, are quite pleasant. Agitation began to keep the latter as white preserves and stop them from being "spoiled" by the Asians.

In one incident that I know of, a Bengali family was given an apartment in what had been an all-white building. Racist slogans were daubed on the door, windows were broken, the children were harassed by white kids on their way to school, the mother was jostled or tripped so often that she didn't dare to do her marketing until her husband returned from work. After two weeks, the family gave up the tenancy. They preferred to live as squatters in a condemned tenement, because they would be among their own people.

In another incident, a crowd—in which a local NF organizer was recognized—gathered to stop a Bengali family's furniture from being unloaded and installed. The police were called, and an officer said: "We can get you moved in, but we can't stick around to protect you." The Council gave this family a transfer to a safer location.

Both these incidents, and others of the kind, occurred in 1976. They received little publicity, nor was there any determined action to uphold the rights of the Asians. Bengalis to whom I've talked regard the borough councillors (practically all La-

bour, naturally) and the police as at best evasive and indifferent, at worst prejudiced.

## Atmosphere of terror.

Meanwhile, in the heart of Spitalfields itself, there was a concerted effort to scare the Bengalis off the streets. Gangs of youths, arriving on motor-bikes, created an atmosphere of terror. The NF held provocative marches and rallies at peak shopping times. Asians were cornered and attacked, sometimes beaten up and sometimes knifed. For a time there was a virtual curfew and Asians didn't dare to leave their homes after dark (a great deprivation, since they are fond of gathering in cafes and going to Bengali-language movie houses).

An Anti-Racist Committee was formed and proved effective by setting up protection patrols. The neighborhood became reasonably safe. But the patrols couldn't do much for Asian families who were isolated in more distant housing projects. Moreover, in 1978 the situation has worsened again. This may be the result of the NF's defeat in the recent municipal elections, when it failed to elect a single borough councillor, even in areas where it had campaigned intensively. To attract a maximum vote, an effort had been made to throw off the "thug" image, and Front members who indulged in street attacks had been warned off or disciplined. In a mood of disappointment, the "soft" policy was discounted and the inhibitions against violence were removed.

That is the background to the "ghetto" decision. Bengali community groups have petitioned the GLC to give them housing priority in projects close to Spitalfields, even though these are of older construction and inferior quality and even though a renunciation of housing opportunities elsewhere is implied. The GLC's agreement is probably sensible, but it reflects a sad state of affairs.

In the same week, the borough of Ealing (in west London) abandoned its busing policy. There is a close-knit, almost ghetto-like Indian community in one part of this borough, and since 1970 the Council has enforced a policy designed to prevent a concentration in any school of more than 40 percent of pupils belonging to any ethnic group. Indian kids have, therefore, been taken by bus to schools in white neighborhoods—never the other way about. Now the Council has decided to phase out this policy, ending it by 1983, with the known result that some schools will have at least a 75 percent Indian enrollment.

It ought to be said that there are many harmonious and conflict-free multi-ethnic districts in London and throughout Britain. Still, the trend seems to be going the wrong way. ■

## GUYANA

# Government wins the right to rewrite constitution

By Jay R. Mandle and Joan D. Mandle

**I**N CLAIMING 97 PERCENT SUPPORT in a July 10 referendum, the government of Prime Minister Forbes Burnham in Guyana accomplished a virtual political *coup d'état*. The referendum authorized postponement of elections, which had been constitutionally required not later than October 1978, and changed the amending provision of the Guyanese constitution so that the government is now able to impose a new constitution on the country.

This political stroke occurred at a time when opposition to the Peoples National Congress (PNC) regime had reached firestorm proportions.

PNC support has eroded even among such traditional sources of strength as the largely Afro-Guyanese bauxite workers in the mining town of Linden.

The opposition stems from the government's inability to reverse the sharp and steady decline in living conditions that has occurred during the last two years. Food and basic commodities like soap are scarce and require hours of waiting in line before they can be obtained; elec-

tric power was practically unavailable in the capital city of Georgetown for a two-week period in March and April and still is subject to periodic cut-offs; the water

**The Burnham government has been losing support. To ensure its rule, it launched the new referendum. Opponents called a boycott.**

supply is also unreliable, partly because of the problem with electricity, with water sometimes dark in color, sometimes salty in taste and occasionally unobtainable.

The left in Guyana has enjoyed considerable success in turning this discontent into a political force. Much of the credit for this can be assigned to a change in strategy by Dr. Cheddi Jagan's People's Progressive Party (PPP). In Guyana's racially charged environment, the PPP, despite

its desires to the contrary, remains a basically Indo-Guyanese party. Recognizing this fact and conceding that it is unlikely that large numbers of Afro-Guyanese are likely to join the party no matter how deep their feelings of estrangement from the PNC, Jagan and his party have called for the formation of a National Front Government. It would include "all parties and groups which are progressive, anti-imperialist and wish to see Guyana take a socialist-oriented or non-capitalist path of development."

## Government stifles opposition.

In the referendum vote, the electorate approved an amendment to the constitution stipulating that further changes in the constitution would require only a two-thirds vote of parliament, instead of a two-thirds vote and a referendum. With the PNC already controlling two-thirds of the parliament from the rigged 1973 elections, the government announced that the present parliament would transform itself into a constituent assembly that would draft a new constitution over the next 12 to 18 months. This would extend the life of the parliament far beyond its constitutionally defined period of life as well as grant-

ing it constitution-writing power.

Opposition to the referendum came from the Guyana Council of Churches, lawyers groups, unions, teacher associations, as well as the more directly political organizations. A Committee in Defense of Democracy (CDD) was organized. Demonstrations and public meetings were held throughout the country, including one in which the leading Guyanese poet, Martin Carter, was severely beaten.

But the PNC, by their control of the electoral machinery, were able to assure an affirmative vote. And the Guyana Defense Force has remained loyal to the government and to Burnham in particular. Army maneuvers were frequent and obvious as the referendum date drew close.

Faced with an inevitable PNC "victory" at the polls, Dr. Jagan finally called upon the opponents of the referendum to boycott the polls and signal their discontent by not participating in the vote. As of this writing the effectiveness of the boycott is subject to debate, though it appears that voter despair would have kept the turn-out low in any case. ■

Jay and Joan Mandle recently returned from Guyana.



## UNITED NATIONS

## UN investigators sour on Nestle milk

By Bruce Vandervort

G E N E V A

IT HAS BEEN A ROUGH YEAR FOR Nestle, the world's biggest food company. First there was the consumers' boycott, led by the INFAC coalition in Minneapolis. INFAC and its supporters say that Nestle endangers the lives of children in developing countries through misleading advertising of its infant formula. In May this controversy fell into the laps of Sen. Edward Kennedy and his Senate Health and Anti-Trust Committee.

Now, the Swiss Bern Declaration Group, which since 1968 has defended the interests of developing countries, claims to have proof that Nestle and other Swiss multinationals "infiltrated" the UN. This charge might seem a bit strange, except for the fact that Switzerland is not yet a member of the UN. This gives a certain flavor to the "infiltration" charge.

The Bern Declaration Group has released excerpts from leaked company documents to show that Nestle and five other Swiss multi-national corporations conspired with a former president of the Swiss Federal Council to "subvert" a UN inquiry into the impact of multinationals on development and international affairs. The investigation, carried out by a so-called "Group of Eminent Persons" in 1973-74, had been launched at the request of the Allende government of Chile. The firms involved, in addition to Nestle, were Ciba-Geigy, Hoffmann-La Roche, Sandoz, Brown-Boveri, and Sulzer.

**Defending Swiss interests.**

Nestle will be familiar to U.S. readers as the owner of the Libby canning company and the purveyor of Nescafe, Nestea and Nestle's chocolate. Ciba-Geigy, Hoffmann-La Roche and Sandoz together account for around 15 percent of the world's pharmaceutical sales, with Hoffmann-La Roche occupying the top rung among drug multinationals (1977 sales: some \$2.8 billion).

The six Swiss companies appear to have been afraid that the UN inquiry might result in a binding "code of conduct" on multinationals in developing countries. Given the size of the Swiss market, all of them have extensive holdings or outlets abroad. Nestle, for example, does 97 percent of its business outside Switzerland. Their fears began to border on hysteria when they realized that, Switzerland not being a UN member, no Swiss had been asked to join the panel. They therefore intervened with Bern to get a Nestle official named to the "Group of Eminent Persons."

When this scheme failed to impress the UN, the Swiss government put up the name of Hans Schaffner, an ex-president of the Swiss Federal Council and a vice-president of the Sandoz drug company. The UN accepted. To this day, however, it is unclear which of his two hats Schaffner was wearing during his tenure on the UN panel. The Bern Declaration Group says he was a Swiss government envoy. The Swiss government denies this. Schaffner will only say that he was defending "Swiss interests."

**Disciplining "extreme leftists."**

In any case, it would appear that Schaffner worked closely with a "coordinating" body set up by the six Swiss firms. Letters in the possession of the Bern Declaration Group show that he slipped confidential UN documents to the combine through Sandoz's head office in Basel. And, it likewise appears that when the "Group of Eminent Persons" came to Geneva in November 1973 to interview multinational executives, Schaffner leaked the list of questions to his corporate contacts in advance.

In return, the Swiss multinationals are alleged to have fed Schaffner with information to refute critics of transnational



Tom Greensfelder

## The Swiss companies were not about to let the UN investigate the role of multinationals.

practice. Ciba-Geigy also seems to have supplied him with a translator and, on one occasion, Nestle is said to have paid a consultant \$345 a day to prepare reports for his use. The leaked company correspondence also indicates that the firms set out to "discipline" members of the "Group of Eminent Persons" that Schaffner considered to be hostile to multinationals.

One of the targets was Dr. Sicco Mansholt, ex-president of the European Economic Community, described in one letter as "perfidious-acting and extreme leftist." A second seems to have been Hans Matthoefer, the current West German Minister of Finance, also termed an "extreme leftist." (Matthoefer is an ex-official of the West German Metal Workers' Union, IG Metall.) The Swiss multinationals apparently contacted the Dutch electrical and electronics transnational, Philips, to ask how Mansholt's "extremism" could be "made to follow a more reasonable course." (Mansholt is a Dutch socialist.)

One "Eminent Person" that Schaffner apparently *did* get on with was the American representative, Sen. Jacob Javits (R-NY). The leaked company correspondence shows that the U.S. and Swiss governments saw eye-to-eye on the UN inves-

tigation. At the time, Javits called the panel's final report biased against the multinationals. Schaffner put together a dissenting opinion to its findings—with a little help from his friends.

**Imperial reasoning.**

In retrospect, the whole episode could be written off as paranoid corporate fantasies. The UN inquiry did not pillory the multinationals, as Nestle had feared, much less devise a binding "code of conduct" to govern their operations. All of that, however, is irrelevant in the end. The information assembled by the Bern Declaration Group is useful for the insight it gives into the lengths to which multinational corporations will go when they perceive their interests to be in jeopardy.

The Bern Declaration Group papers underscore the point that multinationals, like big power governments, reason "imperial" when faced by threats, real or imagined, to their "global reach." It wasn't the 1973-74 UN inquiry itself that bothered Nestle, but the principle of oversight of MNC operations by a supranational body uncontrolled by business.

Nestle is still having its troubles with the UN. In the early '70s, Nestle and some 100 other agribusiness multinationals formed something called the Industry

Cooperative Program (ICP) within the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) in Rome. Being on the inside helped the agribusiness transnationals to ensure that the FAO's multi-million dollar programs for food aid and agricultural development didn't interfere with their own activities in these areas. The Bern Group also claims that Nestle tried to get the FAO to suppress an article in one of its publications that questioned multinational methods of peddling baby foods in developing countries.

Last year, following charges of obstructionism and influence-peddling by developing nations, the ICP was kicked out of the FAO. Since then, it has been lobbying the UN for a permanent slot in its system, with headquarters in Geneva. On April 6, the Geneva press reported that "former Federal Councillor Hans Schaffner" had been asked to "intervene with [UN General Secretary] Kurt Waldheim" on behalf of the Swiss members of the ICP. Which hat will he be wearing this time? ■

*For the full story on Nestle and its friends and the UN, write to: Erklarung von Bern, Gartenhofstrasse 27, 8004 Zurich, Switzerland. English version of documents available. No charge, but Bern Group would welcome contributions.*

## Rhodesia's real plan

By Brigitte Kirch &amp; Bill Hansen

The so-called internal settlement signed in Salisbury on March 3 has been hailed by much of the press as an agreement ending white domination and bringing about majority rule in Zimbabwe. In the House of Commons, British Foreign Secretary David Owen referred to the agreement as "a step in the right direction." The U.S. government has characterized it as being indicative of progress. But in which direction and progress for whom?

Perhaps the best answer to that question was provided by the Rhodesian Foreign Minister, P.K. van der Byl, at a closed all white meeting in the town of Chisipite on April 19. The meeting was part of a series held by the regime to explain the

terms of the settlement to Rhodesia's white population. Secret notes now in our possession and taken by one of those attending the meeting indicate that van der Byl told his audience that the ruling Rhodesian Front Party still adhered to the principles it stood for in 1962 when it was formed—that is continued domination by Rhodesia's whites. He told his audience, however, that times had changed and some cosmetic changes while maintaining the reality of continued white domination.

"According to all our friends," remarked the foreign minister, "we have to accept majority rule in one form or another. What we achieved," he went on to say, "is a masterpiece as a politico-diplomatic exercise. No one ever believed that we could get the internal leaders to agree to so much." Van der Byl explained that the settlement was so constructed as to prevent changes of any significance from taking place but had the "advantage of authentic black nationalists de-

fending our position." At another point in the speech, he said, "Also our forces will remain intact and will always defend us against illegal action."

Van der Byl also told his audience that the three black signatories—Abel Muzorewa, Ndabaningi Sithole, and Jeremiah Chirau—had joined the Rhodesian Front in rejecting any new conference that would include the Patriotic Front, while at the same time they (the black signatories) were trying to get the PF guerrillas to lay down their arms and surrender because "We cannot kill them all off, unfortunately." Besides, he added, "We are not going to have a conference with a pack of blacks."

In another reference to the government's black allies van der Byl said, "Our black collaborators want us for the disciplining of the black elements. They realize too that if the PF was to win they would be the sufferers because they have put their heads on the block of the Salisbury Agreement." ■



# THE CUBAN FILM



by JANET STEVENSON

During the week of June 12-28, 30 U.S. film critics, editors and professors of film studies visited Cuba at the invitation of ICAIC. The Cuban Film Institute, which oversees all aspects of the industry: the training of personnel, the production of newsreels, documentaries and feature films, the supervision of Cuban theaters and the mobile film units that cover the hinterland, as well as the import and export of films.

The U.S. group was organized by Tricontinental Films, which distributes Cuban (and other Third World) films in this country, and included representatives of the commercial press (MIAMI HERALD, TAMPA TRIBUNE, WASHINGTON POST, SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE, SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER, LOS ANGELES TIMES and CHICAGO TRIBUNE) as well as alternative weeklies and magazines as diverse as HARPER'S, ESSENCE, HERESIES and CINEASTE.

The program included a minimum of sightseeing, a full schedule of screenings—films of all genres, newsreels and documentaries, cartoons, short and full-length features; some from the first years of the industry, others so new that they are not yet released in Cuba, and one which is still in the process of editing; films in black and white and in color.

Filmmakers—including all of Cuba's top directors—were available for discussions of their own films or to answer any other relevant questions. Some of the visitors were fluent in Spanish, but a staff of very competent simultaneous translators made discussion—sometimes quite heated—possible for those who did not handle the language easily.

All the films shown were either dubbed, subtitled or projected with a live "voice-over" by the same translators.

Seeing so many films (especially the documentaries and newsreels) in the context of the society about which and for which they are being made had the effect of concentrating into a relatively brief time a remarkably broad and deep experience of Cuban life today.

For all of us it was a "culture shock." For some an exhilarating one; for others deeply disturbing, and even threatening.

With the success of the Revolution, we had placed in our hands a thing whose power we knew very well because it had been up to that point the power of the enemy.

Alfredo Guevara

Alfredo Guevara (no relation to Che) is the founder and director of ICAIC, and in that capacity he met with the U.S. visitors early in their stay to sketch the historical background as well as the present objectives of Cuban filmmaking.

By way of introduction, Guevara explained that before the Revolution he was one of a now-famous group of film buffs at the University of Havana that serves as a "cover" for insurrectional activity. "We liked to discuss films, but only one or two of us ever tried to make one, even as an amateur."

One of the first things Fidel did after the triumphant entry of the rebels into Havana was to ask Guevara (who was an old schoolmate of his) to prepare a law that would establish a film industry. That law, proclaimed on March 24, 1959, was the first official act of the revolutionary government in the field of culture.

"Our first task," Guevara recalled, "was the 'decolonization' of our culture—the effort to find and affirm our own history and that of our whole, diverse but essentially single Latin-American homeland."

One of the problems involved in that process was weaning urban audiences from the diet of Grade B Hollywood fare and Mexican-made copies of it. Another was reaching a potential audience that had not been "corrupted" because they had never seen a motion picture.

"We searched for all possible means of bringing cinema to parts of the population that were not cultured in the usual sense. (We have learned that our peasants are not uncultured even when they did not know how to read and write. They have a culture of their own.)"

"We took projectors—usually 16mm—on trucks, or by mules if trucks couldn't make it, or even by launch, to remote villages in the mountains, in the swamps, to the Keys and the fishing zones.

"We are still operating these mobile units, and now have more than 13 million movie-goers a year in areas where cinema was unknown before." (Note: He is counting admissions—paid or unpaid; the total population of Cuba is only 13 millions.)

(One of the most universally admired short films ever made in Cuba is *For the First Time*, a documentary about the arrival of a mobile film unit in a mountain village in Oriente Province. After footage that establishes the ruggedness of the terrain, the filmmakers interview local people—old and young—asking whether they have ever seen a movie ["No, but I know some-

one who did once..."] and what they expect it to be like ["I think it might be sort of like a party..."].)

Then the screen is set up and the audience assembles. The camera is turned on the faces of men and women, children and octogenarians, incredulous—then enthralled by a performance of Charles Chaplin's *Modern Times*.)

When Guevara opened the floor for questions someone asked about the difficulties encountered in starting a film industry from scratch.

"It was chaos!" he said. "We had nothing and knew nothing. Let me tell you a story that may give you some idea: Che and I and another comrade who worked closely with Fidel were sent to the National Bank to talk to the director. We knew he was the kind of person who was going to desert, sooner or later, and Fidel said we had to find out what a bank was! We had really not the least idea.

"The problem of equipment was simple. There was none—neither cameras, lights, movielas nor film." Guevara explained with some diffidence that he took advantage of his position at the center of the new government to push for a large appropriation for film in the first budget.

"Six hundred thousand pesos! Immense for those times! I am not ashamed because if the money had not been appropriated then, it would have been too late.

"We foresaw the breakdown in relations with the U.S. So we took that money and bought everything we could before the blockade could be imposed. And that's what we lived on for the next two or three years."

Finances have not been the film institute's most pressing problem since that time. "Cinema has always paid its own way. In fact, in the almost 20 years we have been functioning, we have given to the Cuban state 300 million pesos to be used for other needs."

Motion picture houses in Havana are obviously well attended. For an admission of \$1 (about a third of the price of dinner at a restaurant) one can see a newsreel, a cartoon, a documentary and a feature. Cuban-made films are the most popular, but there aren't enough of them. Foreign films have to fill the gaps: features from other socialist countries (notably the USSR and Czechoslovakia), some Spanish and French features and once in a while a bootleg print of a Hollywood hit.

There are still problems about raw stock and laboratory work (exacerbated by ICAIC policy of offering its facilities to revolutionary filmmakers from all the other

Photo above top: *FOR THE FIRST TIME*

Photographs, except where noted, are courtesy of Tricontinental Film Center. Special thanks to Gary Crowder.



Latin-American countries.) Until last month, for example, there was no lab that could develop color negatives. They had to be airlifted to Spain, and a director working in color might have to wait two or three weeks before he could see rushes.

Asked how film was used in the now famous 1961 campaign against illiteracy, Guevara said that the industry was still too young to have done much.

"But we did record on film that whole campaign. And now, 17 years later, we have made a very popular feature film (*The Teacher*) that makes use of some of that footage."

One of the film industry's most important roles, he explained, was to act as historian of the Revolution, a role he is satisfied that they have "honorably" carried out.

## DEMYSTIFYING

While Guevara made it very clear that such an audience has not as yet been created ("And it is not a task for the film industry alone!"), he described the effort at what has come to be called "demystification." One way of viewing it, he said, is "as working against oneself, revealing all the tricks and devices by which we achieve our effects."

For example, there is a weekly TV program, aired at 8:30 on Saturday nights, called *24 Times a Second* on which various aspects of filmmaking are "dismantled," and current features (particularly U.S. imports) are put into context by panels of experts. When *Jaws* was exhibited in Havana, *24 X p.s.* invited an oceanographer to comment on the "factuality" of the scenario and a special effects man to explain how the terrifying shark attack sequences were pulled off.

Other recent *24 X p.s.* programs have examined the craft of editing, the use of the camera, make-up, sound and special effects of all kinds. When *The Godfather* was playing, critics and historians discussed the context in which Cosa Nostra could and did flourish in the U.S.

Other techniques of demystification are more subtle in their effect, but more disturbing to a U.S. viewer. In documentaries, for example, the interviewer with his microphone is constantly on camera so that the "mediation" is seen as part of the event being interpreted.

In feature films, the device may be an old-fashioned story board that exposes the construction of the screen play by flashing a question like "How did Juan get to know Teresa?" or "How come Pedro just happened to be in the area at this time?" *The Adventures of Juan Quin Quin*, by Julio Garcia Espinoza, uses story boards of this kind in a hilarious parody of a Hollywood western.

In *The Other Francisco*, adapted for the screen by director Sergio Giral from a 19th century novel that takes a romantic view of slavery, the whole story is replayed from a "demystified" point of view.

The most intriguing example of demystification in the films screened for our visit was in a feature made by Cuba's only woman director, Sara Gomez Yera, who died of an acute asthma attack before the editing was completed.

*One Way or Another (De Cierta Manera)* is the story of a love affair between a woman teacher (Yolanda Cuellar), who comes from a middle-class background to work in what used to be a slum, and a man who grew up in the slum and is trying to adjust to the new society (Mario Balmaseda).

The principal device Gomez uses is the insertion of short, didactic documentaries that explain the "marginal culture" of the slum and what is involved in changing it. Footage of the garbage-filled alleys of the old shanty town is intercut with film of the actual destruction of a ghetto apartment building, while the voice-over gives sociological statistics on the past and present on the neighborhood. The spell of the love story is broken—not once, but repeatedly—but the underlying problems with which the lovers are struggling are made clear and meaningful.

Another example: a scene between Mario and Yolanda in which he tried to describe the slow descent into delinquency from which he was saved by the Revolution is interrupted by a little film essay on the Abakua cult, with commentary on how it relates to the *machismo* which is one of the conflicts between the lovers.

*One Way or Another* has the strengths and the weaknesses of *cinema verite*, accentuated by the conditions under which the young director had to work, and to some degree by the reluctance of colleagues who finished the film to make decisions she had not yet made for herself.

Even so, it has achieved a sort of cult status among U.S. feminists because of the sensitive but unequivocal attack on the Cuban version of male supremacist attitudes. Cuban filmmakers consider it a milestone in the development of a truly revolutionary cinema because of its free exploration of ways and means of making a dramatic experience work as an agent of social change.

The transitions between story and sociology are



One of our first tasks, as revolutionaries, was to establish a different type of audience, one that would be more critical, more informed—less hypnotized, less manipulated. **Alfredo Guevara**

always abrupt and not always acceptable. (There is some question about whether or not Gomez would have softened them if she had lived to see the film in its final form.) But even at their clumsiest, the devices of demystification force the viewer to reflect, and that is one of the stated goals of the new Cuban cinema.

On the twin questions of racism and sexism in Cuban life and how it is handled in film, Guevara seemed more interested in discussing the former than the latter.

In the context of a discussion of how films are used to "raise consciousness," someone asked whether an effort is being made to attack racism as well as sexism in this medium. Guevara's reaction seemed defensive. (It was the first of many times that similar questions by U.S. delegates triggered such reactions from our hosts.)

Racism no longer exists in Cuba, he said. Although the blacks were originally brought from Africa as slaves, so that a sharp class difference separated the races, "by the beginning of this century we were a mulatto society." Which was not to say that discrimination did not exist, but "it was more on a class than a race basis."

(He interrupted himself here to say that although he had been taught in school that the Spaniards imported Africans to work because they had exterminated the native population, during the fighting in the Sierra Maestra a sizeable Indian (Carib) population was discovered. "After the triumph of the Revolution, thousands of these boys and girls travelled across five centuries to come to Havana," where they received an elementary, secondary and, in many cases, a university education.)

Although the Revolution established in its basic law absolute equality in all aspects of life, Guevara (and everyone else) admits that "formerly disadvantaged sectors have not yet caught up." The revolutionary leadership, however, does not accept the need for affirmative action, which they call "reverse discrimination" in a disapproving tone not unlike Allen Bakke's.

From what we observed in Havana and at the beach resort of Varadero (formerly reserved for rich whites only, mostly foreigners), Guevara's claim that racism has been eradicated seems to have validity. There is certainly no evidence of a color bar in any public place we visited or in the student body of the Lenin School or in the personnel at ICAIC.

The situation *vis-a-vis* sexism is not so encouraging. But Guevara said that the film industry is giving the problem some attention and named a number of features that have touched on it. For instance, it is one

facet of the situation in *Now It's Up to You*, a feature by Manuel Octavio Gomez about sabotage and the conditions that make it possible.

"The same comrade who made that film has just completed another that treats the problem of *machismo* more directly," Guevara told us.

### A WOMAN, A MAN, A CITY Written and directed by Manuel Octavio Gomez

As the title indicates, this is really three stories: one, the struggle of Marisa (played by Idalia Anreus, *Days of Water*) to find a way of life and a way of love in the new society; another, the story of Miguel (played by Mario Balmaseda), an architect/engineer who faces a difficult choice between two kinds of commitment. The two are linked in space, though not in time, by the story of Nuevitas, a small coastal town that is being transformed into an industrial center and suffering a sort of identity crisis.

Marisa and Miguel never meet. It is her death (in an automobile accident) that brings him from Havana to his old home town—which is the last place he wants to live now. Taking over Marisa's job on what he insists is a temporary basis requires him to reconstruct her life. As he reads through her records and talks to people who knew her, he uncovers the story of a remarkable woman caught in a riptide between the old and new cultures.

We see Marisa and other women driven from the docks where they have volunteered to do badly needed paper work by their "humiliated" husbands. Later Marisa finds a job that doesn't expose her husband to peer criticism, but their marriage founders on his resentment of the way her work responsibilities (as a community organizer) take precedence over her role as his wife.

They separate. Marisa assuages the pain of rejection and loneliness by working harder than ever. Eventually she finds a lover more willing to accept a "new woman." But when she uses her position to get them a house in which they can live together, his self-esteem is damaged.

Again she finds herself forced to choose between the man she loves and the work that is transforming her life. She chooses to stay with her city. At the time of her death she is again alone in the sense of having no lover, but totally integrated into the community she is helping to create.

There is no clear parallel to Marisa's story in the choice Miguel has to make. Glimpses of his life in Ha-



## FACTS OF LIFE

**A**ware that living in a luxury (tourist) hotel and spending most of our days watching films was not teaching us much about the nitty gritty of daily life, some of us who had the opportunity made a point of visiting Cuban households—of friends or friends of friends. We also made use of mealtime breaks to interview our guides and translators on their "way of life."

The following is a composite of a number of people's observations:

**FOOD AND CLOTHING:** There is a general shortage of consumer goods, caused (in the opinions of most Cubans) by the U.S. economic blockade.

A system of rationing makes an equitable distribution of what is available. Meat is served in most households only three times a week, and the portions are modest. There is enough of everything else except coffee.

Cuba grows some of the best coffee in the world, but exports most of the crop to get foreign exchange. (For the same reason Cubans never see any of their fine harvest of lobster and shrimp, which is sold to the gourmet market of Paris.) Coffee can be bought on the open market for \$10 a pound. The weekly ration is cheap but totally inadequate for a people who are practically weaned on the bean. Some get extra rations by barter with neighbors who have kicked the habit. But it is a serious social irritant.

**HOUSING:** The other galling shortage is housing. Some time ago it was obvious that no ordinary building program could keep pace with the rapidly increasing demand, so the "micro-brigade" approach was developed.

Under this system, every "work place" builds housing for its own people. Some workers volunteer for full-time construction duty while others work overtime to take up the slack. All the work except carpentry is done by these amateurs under the supervision of a few professional builders.

When a new housing unit is complete, the housing council of the work-place decides who gets first crack at it, partly on the basis of the applicant's need and partly on the basis of his/her work record.

There are several micro-brigade-built apartments in the environs of Havana. Three or four stories high, brightly colored, with shaded balconies and plenty of playgrounds and green space, they look much more attractive than comparable housing in the USSR, and are reported very comfortable by their occupants.

Housing is obtained and rent paid through the work-place of the "head of the house." By Cuban law, the husband is the head of the household if the partners are married. But many "politically advanced" Cubans do not choose to legalize their unions. In such cases, the woman may be designated "head of the house," obtain housing through her own work-place and have the family ration cards issued in her name.

The rent, in any case, is 10 percent of the salary (or the combined salaries) of the working member(s) of the household.

**WAGES:** There is a differential in the wage paid for different kinds of work, but none based on sex. Equal pay for equal work is not only law, but practice.

Wage rates are set by a council that evaluates each job in each enterprise. Some jobs have yet to be evaluated the first time; others need re-evaluating; so there are some obvious inequities. Most Cubans seem satisfied that these are minor and temporary problems.

In the case of one of our translators, for instance, the man's wage is \$225 a month. The woman (an elementary school teacher) earns \$235. Their salaries add up to \$460; the rent for a three-bedroom apartment in a new building is \$46 a month.

This is not the only case we heard of where a wife makes more than a husband. If the husband's wage is raised when his job is evaluated next year, the rent on the apartment will go up in proportion. If either partner should stop work (for instance, to go back to the

clude women among the active protagonists, they were—according to the writer—"missing."

The most striking omission (or distortion) occurs in *The Teacher (El Brigadista)*, a current, highly popular feature film about the 1961 literacy campaign in which 100,000 young people went into the countryside to stamp out illiteracy. Fifty-six thousand of these teachers were girls or women. But the protagonist whose personal story forms the plot of the film is a young man, and the three main female characters are either "passive, negative or downright evil." There is not even a secondary story involving a woman teacher. "The few that are seen in the film are part of the scenery."

This criticism by a Cuban woman confirmed our own impression that there are more problems about the achievement of equality for women than the official documents and discussions assert. The U.S. women de-

university for an advanced degree), the rent would fall to 10 percent of the salary of the one who continued to work.

**CHILD CARE:** The translator and his wife have three children, two of nursery school age. The younger two were entered in "Infants' Circles" before they were a year old, one of them at three months. Since this early separation from the home is a controversial question among Cubans, as well as foreign observers, we asked him what difference he and his wife observed between the younger children and the oldest, who was raised at home by his grandmother.

"There's all the difference in the world," he said. "The nurseries are better. Much better! At least in our experience."

"Our oldest is ten years old now and he's—well, in a lot of ways he's a pain in the neck. He has problems in school, doesn't get on well with his own age group, isn't happy a lot of the time. And he's spoiled rotten about doing his share in the house."

When the second one came along, my wife said, "Into the nursery, right away!" And with the last one, too. They're both happy, nice to have around, take care of most of their own needs. Even the little one!—she's just three and she can bathe herself, dress herself. No problems!"

(These children, like all in the Infants' and Children's "circles," are taken to school after breakfast and brought home for supper. They spend the weekends at home with their parents.)

**HOUSEWORK:** Domestic help is not a profession in revolutionary Cuba. With more and more mothers working outside the home and complaining about the "double day," there is a lot of discussion about "sharing the shit-work."

Children of all ages and both sexes are being taught to take care of their own rooms and do their personal laundry and ironing. Cooking and heavy cleaning are usually shared between the parents. Curiously, the most dreaded chore seems to be the shopping, because of the time wasted standing in line. Very young children and very old people are much in evidence in the queues.

**SECURITY:** All Havana neighborhoods are policed by their own people. Doing guard duty is one of the civic responsibilities undertaken by the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution—a network that covers the whole city and is duplicated in other towns and cities all over the island.

The crime rate is practically zero. It is possible, and not unusual, for a woman to walk along the dark streets at night without fear of injury or insult. Now and then (particularly on weekends) there is someone weaving his way home after too many rum punches. But there is always a man or a woman with the official arm-band and billy, leaning against the corner street sign, keeping everyone keeping the peace.

**PRIVACY:** One of the most astonishing things about social life in Havana is the respect for privacy accorded to public figures—particularly to Fidel.

Although he is constantly interacting with the public, on camera, on mike or in person, he is able to maintain absolute anonymity in his home and family life. Everyone knows that his first marriage ended in divorce. (The son of that marriage lives in Cuba; the wife does not.) And everyone knows that since the days in the Sierra Maestra he has had another *compañera*, and that they have four children.

Who she is or who they are is an improper question that no one but a foreigner would ask.

In private there is undoubtedly some speculation, especially about the children. One woman told me that her children believe one of Fidel's is in their school. "They make a guess every now and then, but they don't know, and they don't really try to find out."

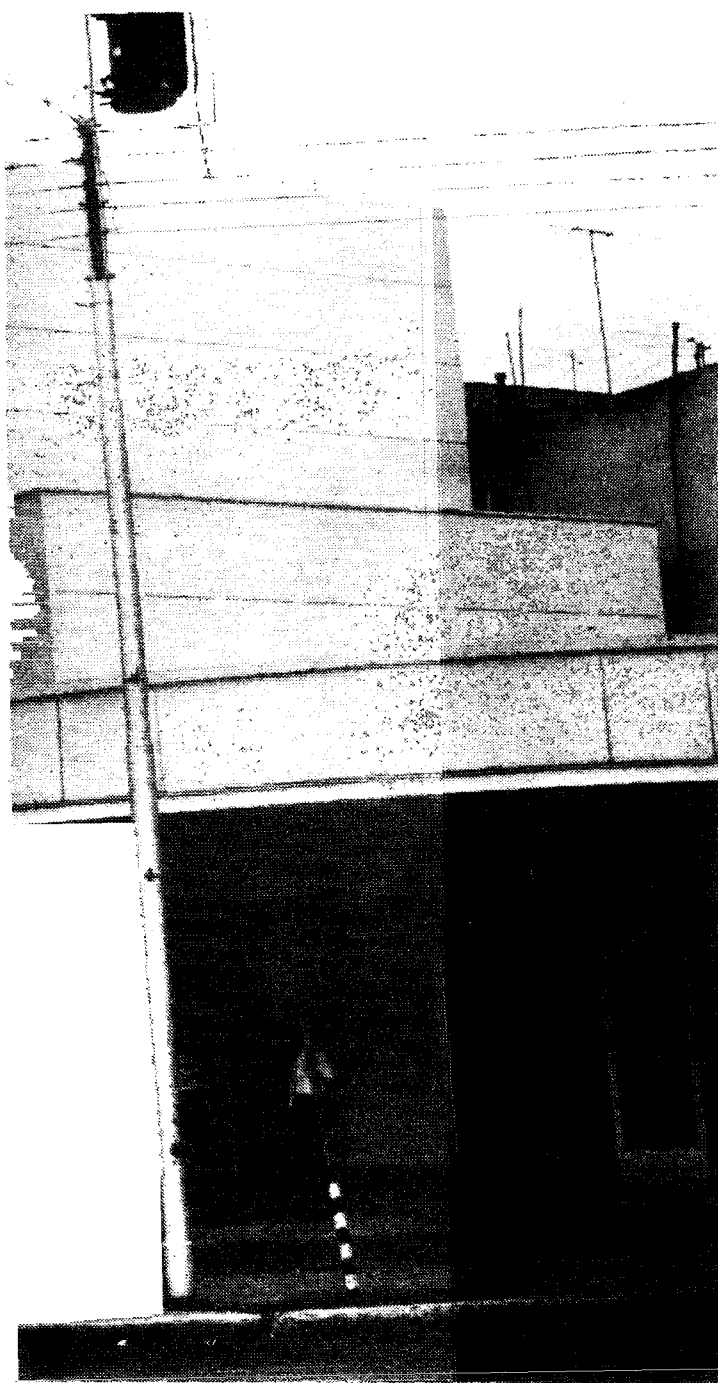
This is partly because exposure might be dangerous in view of the CIA/*gusano* plotting that has been directed against Fidel (and is still considered to be a present danger). But it is also because "everyone has a right to be him or herself," to make his or her own image without inheriting it from someone else.

"We don't have the concept of a First Lady," one woman told us. "It would be humiliating to be invited to sit on a platform or have your picture on TV because of who you are married to, not what you have done yourself."

cided that it would be mutually beneficial for us to meet with the women of ICAIC for a frank exchange of views on our common concerns.

Such a meeting was easily arranged, but there was a difficulty about the ground rules. The U.S. women—or at least those who had made the request—assumed that men would not be invited and were annoyed to be told that "ICAIC does not tolerate reverse discrimination."

After a futile attempt to put that term into the context of the Bakke case, and a discussion of the obligations of "guests of the Institute," we gave in with reasonably good grace. Actually, the more militant among us were holding their fire for the next day when there was to be a meeting with black filmmakers from which they expected whites to be excluded. (Again, the U.S. assumption was vetoed—this time with a little more



Paul Pomares and Idalia Anreus in *A WOMAN, A MAN, A CITY*, directed by Manuel Gomez.

vana—his apartment, the young woman with whom he lives, parties with their friends—offer a surprisingly "bourgeois" contrast to the rigors of life in a boom town. But as Miguel begins to understand what made Marisa's "sacrifice" worthwhile for her, he falls hopelessly in love, not only with Neuvitas, but with Marisa's unfinished work there.

Manuel Octavio Gomez (no relation to Sara) is a highly competent, sensitive director. His film is beautifully, almost slickly produced, acted by people with the charisma of stars (Mario Balmaseda is the Cuban equivalent of Clark Gable.) It is not as gripping as some of the earlier, cruder films we saw, like Humberto Solas's *Manuela*, but it engages the audience's emotion at the same time that it forces them to think.

And that, Guevara told us, is the informing principle of revolutionary cinema.

## WOMEN TODAY

**L**ate in our stay one of our group saw an article in a provincial newspaper headlined "Where Are the Women?" in which the critic considered three of the best contemporary Cuban feature films from the angle of women's roles.

In all three, although there was every reason to in-





Yolanda Cuellas, as the middle-class teacher, and Mario Balmaseda, as the ex-slum dweller, in *ONE WAY OR ANOTHER*, directed by Sara Gomez Yera.

## The problem is in us—the women, to get over the old prejudice about our place and take advantage of the opportunities that are open to us now.

Mayra Vilasis

acerbity. One Cuban commented later that "it would be hard for us to know who to invite in such a case because we are all blacks to one degree or another.")

Another difficulty about the women's meeting arose when, on the evening before it was to take place, there was an unscheduled and embittered discussion of *machismo* in the society in general and ICAIC in particular that kept a lot of people up till the small hours of the morning.

It was set off by a Puerto Rican filmmaker (also a guest of ICAIC, using the facilities and therefore more deeply obligated than we), who objected to the constant use of "man" for "person." The stock answer about semantic convenience infuriated her, and she let fly some accusations about the prevalent tolerance of chauvinism that shocked and angered both male and female Cubans present.

Her overstatement of points the U.S. women had intended to make more diplomatically set up tensions that made it hard to achieve the relaxed, open tone we had hoped for. But the meeting took place, attended by all but two of the U.S. women, about 20 from ICAIC and four men, two Cuban and two from the U.S.

(One of the U.S. men explained his interest in the discussion on the grounds that he was a homosexual who found that gay rights activists faced many of the same problems as feminists. This was, as we were told later, probably the first time any of the Cubans present had heard an open admission of homosexuality. The official position in Cuba today is that it is an illness that can and ought to be cured by psychiatric or other intervention. To admit to such a sexual preference would be to accept exclusion from any political and most professional posts.)

Our informants told us that the official position is handled by the large number of Cubans who do not share it by "looking the other way." It appears that the situation *vis-a-vis* anything but heterosexual relationships is comparable to the situation in the U.S. a decade ago—the "good old days" that Anita Bryant *et al.* would like to return us to.

The Cuban women present included four or five assistant directors, traditionally a position from which one can rise to directing. (But so far Sara Gomez (cf *One Way or Another*), is the only woman to have done so. There was in the room that day only one woman who had "made a film"—a very short documentary on Africa, directed by an actress who had no stated intention of directing again.)

There were two screen writers, the editor-in-chief of ICAIC's official journal, *Cine Cubano*, a considerable number of film editors, about as many researchers and systems analysts, and two actresses (including the one mentioned above).

If the U.S. women didn't succeed in their goal of widening the feminist horizons of the Cubans, there was no doubt that they widened some of ours.

We hear about the fundamental law that establishes equality (on paper, at least) and the specifics of the Family Code (1975) which spells out how rights and duties are to be divided and shared between husband and wife, and parents and children.

We heard that abortions are performed without charge for any woman who requests one, no other permission being required.

We heard that "the way for women to realize full equality is not by organizing against men, but by integrating our labor with theirs" to get on with the job of transforming society.

The more eloquent of the defenses of the current status quo was made by Mayra Vilasis, a screen writer who identified herself at the start of the discussion as "the loving wife of Jorge Fraga (cf *The New School*).

"The shocking thing is that so many of our young women get an education that would equip them to play any kind of role they want. And then they get married and choose to stay at home and just raise babies!

"The problem is in us—the women! To get over the old prejudice about our place and take advantage of the opportunities that are open to us now!"

Other women made the same distinction between "prejudice" and "discrimination." Many blamed their mothers for holding them back from active participation in any area of public life on the grounds that it was "unfeminine." (Despite this, it seemed to some of us that the generation we were talking to has not got far beyond their mothers on this point. One constantly hears a woman leader praised for having made this or that "contribution to the Revolution" while remaining "feminine and attractive.")

Nettled by some of the U.S. women's loaded questions, one of the younger women said, "Look, we are not like you. We are proud of being women!"

The first question that penetrated the united front of defensiveness was one about "themes" relating to women that have not yet been dealt with in Cuban films, and should be."

One of the two screen writers answered. Although she prefaced her remarks with the standard "Since women took part in the first armed uprising at Moncada, they have been totally integrated into the Revolution," she said she did think there were situations—"if not contradictions"—that it would be interesting to make films about.

"Grandmothers, for instance. Are they discriminated against when they are asked to stay in the home and care for young children so the mother can do 'productive labor'? (i.e. labor that earns a salary). Is a wom-

an who does that being kept from developing? And does her lack of development affect the children she is bringing up?"

This moved one of the actresses to complain that she has to exploit her mother in that way. Otherwise she couldn't function in her profession. "I have two small children and the 'Circles' are not open at the hours of my work."

Her husband, a director, interrupted to explain how he and she share the work of their household; then drifted into an exposition of the difference between a mother's (biological) attachment to her children and a father's (sociological) relationship. This drew a mild "boo" from some of the U.S. women, but he did not seem to consider that this "scientific fact" had been challenged.

By this time some people were leaving for other appointments, and the director remembered that it was his "turn to pick up the children." Within moments after his exit, his wife exploded with a different version of how the housework is shared.

"He is not there most of the time when there is such work to be done. I am. No matter what time I get home after shooting, there is cleaning or something.... He doesn't even pick up after himself! He doesn't see that he is leaving a trail behind him...."

According to one of the Cubans, what showed in that last quarter of an hour was only the tip of an iceberg. The ICAIC women have been continuing the discussion among themselves, without their husbands and lovers or the need to keep up a front of solidarity against foreign feminist critics.

To sum up: There is no doubt that old ways of thinking and feeling about women's and men's roles still persists. (One remembers the powerful image in *One Way or Another* of the ease with which a wrecking crane dismantles an old building, contrasted with the enormous difficulty of transforming the "consciousness" of those who used to live in it.)

There is also no doubt that legal equality does exist and that women who struggle to implement it get official encouragement.

This does not solve individual emotional problems, nor does it convert women brought up under the old "prejudices" into role models for the women of tomorrow.

The big push in Cuba today is to prove that women can do virtually any job that men can do as well as men—not to keep tabs on the proportion of male to female in the leading bodies of the Revolution or eminence in the arts and professions.

But—and this may make all the difference between the future of Cuban women and the experience of their sisters in other socialist countries—the educational opportunities are being seized by at least as many young women as young men (cf Education).

And the young women who emerge from the new schools are radical—remarkably radical, in contrast to their mothers—on all questions, including their place in the new society.

For a fuller picture of the immediate past and the present of a wide range of Cuban women, we recommend:

*FOUR WOMEN, An Oral History of Contemporary Cuba*, by Oscar Lewis, Ruth M. Lewis and Susan M. Rigdon, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, IL 61801, 1977, \$15.00 in hard cover.

*CUBAN WOMEN TODAY, Interviews with Cuban Women*, by Margaret Randall, Canadian Women's Educational Press, 200 Bloor St. W., Suite 305, Toronto, Ontario, 1974, \$5.50 in paper.

## HUMOR

Many of us came to Cuba with questions already framed about freedom to criticize and/or dissent. It was not easy to find the right time or the right words to ask them. But one film we saw provides at least a partial answer.

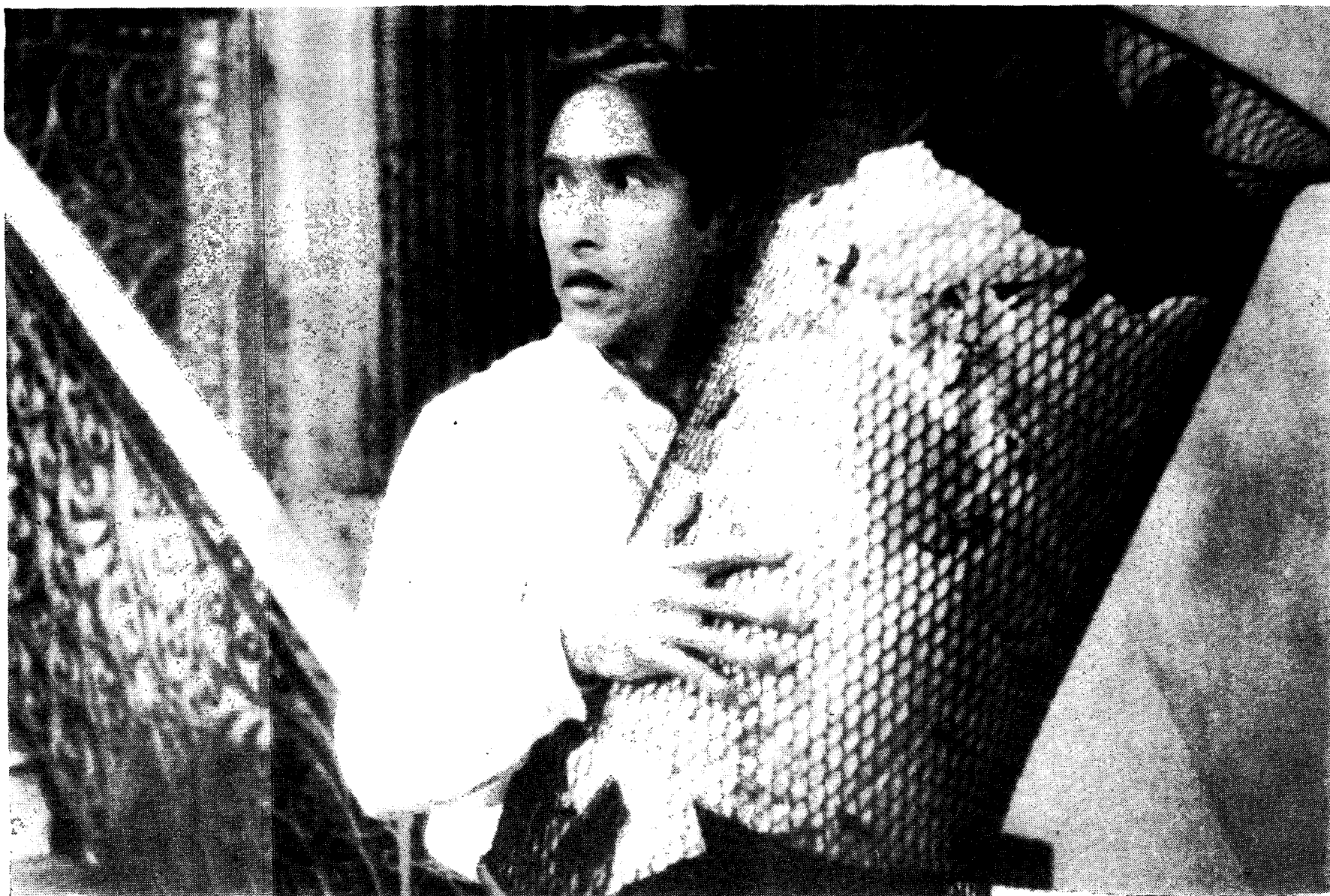
*The Death of a Bureaucrat* was made some time ago but is only now scheduled for U.S. release (probably because some decision-makers felt it might be used to "slander" the Revolution in a hostile climate). The work of Tomas Gutierrez Alea (*Memories of Underdevelopment*, *Stories from the Revolution*, and *The Last Supper*), it is an excruciatingly funny attack on red tape and official arrogance in the great tradition of film satire.

(The opening credits honor the director's debt to his predecessors, including Charles Chaplin, Rene Clair, Mack Sennett, Harold Lloyd and Laurel and Hardy.)

The plot takes off from the accidental death of an "exemplary worker," who has invented a machine to mass produce memorial busts. It looks like a cross between the equipment in *Modern Times* and one of the animations for *Monty Python's Flying Circus*, and one day it scoops up its inventor and emits him as a series of white marble Jose Martis.

To honor his "revolutionary dedication," Uncle is buried with his labor card in his folded hands. But his widow discovers that without it she can't apply for her





Salvador Wood, as the harassed hero of *THE DEATH OF A BUREAUCRAT*, directed by Tomas Gutierrez Alea.

pension. ("It would be possible to apply for a duplicate card, but the application would have to be made by the original owner.")

The nephew, a timid but determined comic hero, has to take time off his own work (in a government propaganda bureau, which also gets a rolfing) to iron out his aunt's problem. The complications include an unsanctioned exhumation and comic chase that is vintage Biograph, ending with the coffin back at home, with neighbors bringing relays of ice-cubes to keep Uncle cool while the necessary forms for a second interment are obtained and properly endorsed.

At one point the nephew locks himself into an administration building after hours, and his efforts to escape include some Harold Lloyd ledge-walking and the bit about hanging from the hands of a clock.

The third time the rented hearse is turned back from the cemetery gates by the bureaucratic director, our hero goes berserk, strangles him and is remanded to the custody of an over-eager psychiatrist (another butt of the satire). The bureaucrat is buried with circumstantial pomp, under cover of which the driver of the hearse and the widow smuggle Uncle back to his honored resting-place under a white marble bust of Jose Marti.

Those who recall the salad days of the Soviet Revolution will be reminded of the comic clout of *The Little Golden Calf*.



Tomas Gutierrez Alea, winner of three prestigious international film festival awards for *MEMORIES OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT* and *THE LAST SUPPER*.

## EDUCATION

**W**e visited one of the new country boarding schools and saw a documentary about another, which gave us some depth of perspective of this particular phase of Cuban education.

The school we visited is a showplace called the Lenin School, situated in a park about 20 miles outside Havana, with a student body of 4,000 in grades seven through 12. The school in the film was smaller and took students only through the junior high school years.

Made in 1973 by Jorge Fraga, *The New School* was part of the effort to persuade parents to let children leave home (Monday through Friday) to go to school in the countryside. The full-color documentary focuses on the advantages of the magnificent plant and equipment and what is described as a new, revolutionary approach to learning. (It isn't as unique as the Cubans seem to believe, but the work/study program in both the film and the Lenin School is not an imitation of such programs in other places.)

Students do their own housekeeping and also do "productive work." In the filmed school they operate a truck garden under the supervision of local farmers. At the Lenin School they make sports equipment (baseball, mitts, and shorts) and manufacture small electronic devices. Such schools are completely self-supporting, and the students gain experience in and respect for all kinds of labor.

But the real selling point of *The New School* is the participation of Fidel. He appears in two sequences: one where decisions about the design of new uniforms for the girls are being made in democratic debate; the other in a day of sports.

Watching the Prime Minister and Commander in Chief playing volleyball, baseball and pingpong, horsing around with a bunch of adolescents in an exuberantly relaxed mood gave us some insight into the "mystery" of the affection in which he is held by the whole society.

(It should be noted that Fidel has, among his other talents, a rare ability to act himself on camera. He is a documentary filmmaker's dream.)

Our visit to the Lenin School was brief. School was in session, and we did not interrupt any classes. But we had an extensive tour of the premises and a chance to talk at length to teachers and administrators. The following are unsorted and unverified impressions:

- The students keep the buildings and grounds beautifully. Most of the housekeeping we saw being done was by girls, but there was an occasional male mopper.
- Teaching methods are standardized by seminars in which lesson plans are reviewed by all teachers.
- Emulation (friendly group competition) and "self-criticism" are stressed. It seemed to many of us that the stress in *The New School* was oppressive. It was less so at the Lenin School.

•There is more of a quasi-military atmosphere (standing at attention, marching in step) than would be considered "progressive" in the U.S. But again, there was less at the Lenin School than in the film. Maybe the focus on the revolutionary army as a role model is beginning to fade.

•Boys and girls play sports together and study together, but they were not working together in the shops we visited. When we asked why, we were told that "it just happens that girls are more agile at that particular task." But our impression was there there is still a traditional division of labor; that the struggle against sex-stereotyping—one of the main concentrations of mass organizations—is not a high priority in education. ■ For a comprehensive and authoritative account of education on all levels in Cuba today, we recommend *CHILDREN OF CHE* by Karen Wald, Ramparts Press, Palo Alto, CA 94303 (\$4.95 in paper).

## ARTS, FINE & POPULAR

**W**e did not see much of Cuba's fine arts during our visit. The world-famous National Ballet Company was touring the U.S. The halls in the Fine Arts Museum that house paintings of the period since the triumph of the Revolution were closed for renovation.

We did see a number of semi-abstract and intensely decorative paintings on the walls of meeting rooms and offices in ICAIC. And there was a large exhibition of the works of amateur and student painting in the open patio of the Museum—work in a wide variety of media, including some mixing of photography and painting or lithography. There were a number of pieces of sculpture in the exhibit, too, in wood, marble and bronze.

But sculpture is having a hard time at the moment because, as the curator put it, "Right now we can't spare the facilities for big works." Cuba does have her own marble quarries, on the Isle of Pines. And there are plenty of statues of Jose Marti, worked in marble, (cf *The Death of a Bureaucrat*, p. 13). But curiously—at least in comparison with other socialist countries—none that we could see of any contemporary leaders.

We did see some popular art, beginning with the current version of the old Havana nightclub floor show. Some of the members of the group spent most of their evenings "researching" this phenomenon and reported that it was all very much like what we saw our first night at the Varadero Beach hotel.

The productions look like last year's Las Vegas and sound like Carmen Miranda—unless you can make out the lyrics, which are intensely political.

The floor show at Varadero featured pseudo-ethnic African dancing (some of it good, some phoney) and a number of songs about how when



*Africa fights for her liberty,  
we extend her our hand.*

One innovation is that racial integration is absolute. The statuesque show-girls, doing pre-revolutionary bumps and grinds, are of every shade of skin and hair color. (Alicia Alonso, Cuba's prima ballerina, says that the prize-winning National Ballet Company is the only one of the world with dancers "from the whitest of blondes to the blackest blacks," chosen for their ability to dance without reference to their color.)

Asked whether the costuming (or lack of it) in nightclub shows is not considered sexist, a Women's Federation leader admitted that there is a "difference of opinion on the subject." "But the men are as bare as the women," she said, "so where is the sexism?"

One popular art form we were able to experience vicariously in the folk festival, which dates back to long before the Revolution.

*Las Parrandas* is a color documentary about the yearly competition between neighborhood factions in a small provincial town that call themselves "toads" and "goats." Membership seems to be hereditary and a matter of fierce partisanship that is only half facetious.

In the year that the festival was filmed, the toads' entry was a gigantic float entitled "Spartacus," featuring scenes of Roman debauchery, chariot races, gladiators and crucified rebel slaves. The goats presented "A Night in Venice," complete with operating fountains, floating gondolas and mermaids.

Everyone from grandfathers to toddlers is involved in some phase of the preparation: the papier mache work (arches, chariots, life-size horses, *et al.* or the costuming or the make-up, or the engineering that assures the smooth progress of the platforms through the city's narrow streets.

What's left of the town acts as judge and awards the prize. And the whole thing ends up with a fireworks display calculated to repel an invasion.

What we did see and watch the production of is the most important and impressive popular art form in Cuba today—the poster. Especially the film posters that are silk-screened in a workshop attached to ICAIC.

Every film released in the country—foreign as well as domestic (even *The Godfather*, retitled *El Padrino*) documentaries, cartoons and features—is celebrated (and advertised) by its own poster.

The artists include some of Cuba's most distinguished contemporary painters in other media as well as a number of people who have made this their principal art form. Some of the designs are for simple black and white reproduction. Others may call for as many as six separate color registrations.

We watched the actual printing of a poster (*A Woman, A Man, A City*, cf p. ??) that required five registrations. Each sheet is placed in position for each color by hand, by a craftsman whose pride in his work explains why a poorly centered registration on a Cuban film poster is as rare as a misprint of a U.S. postage stamp (for quite different reasons).

The posters are displayed in the entrance foyer to ICAIC long after their use as advertisements is over, and are collected by Cubans as well as visitors from the socialist and other worlds.

## ALVAREZ INTERVIEW

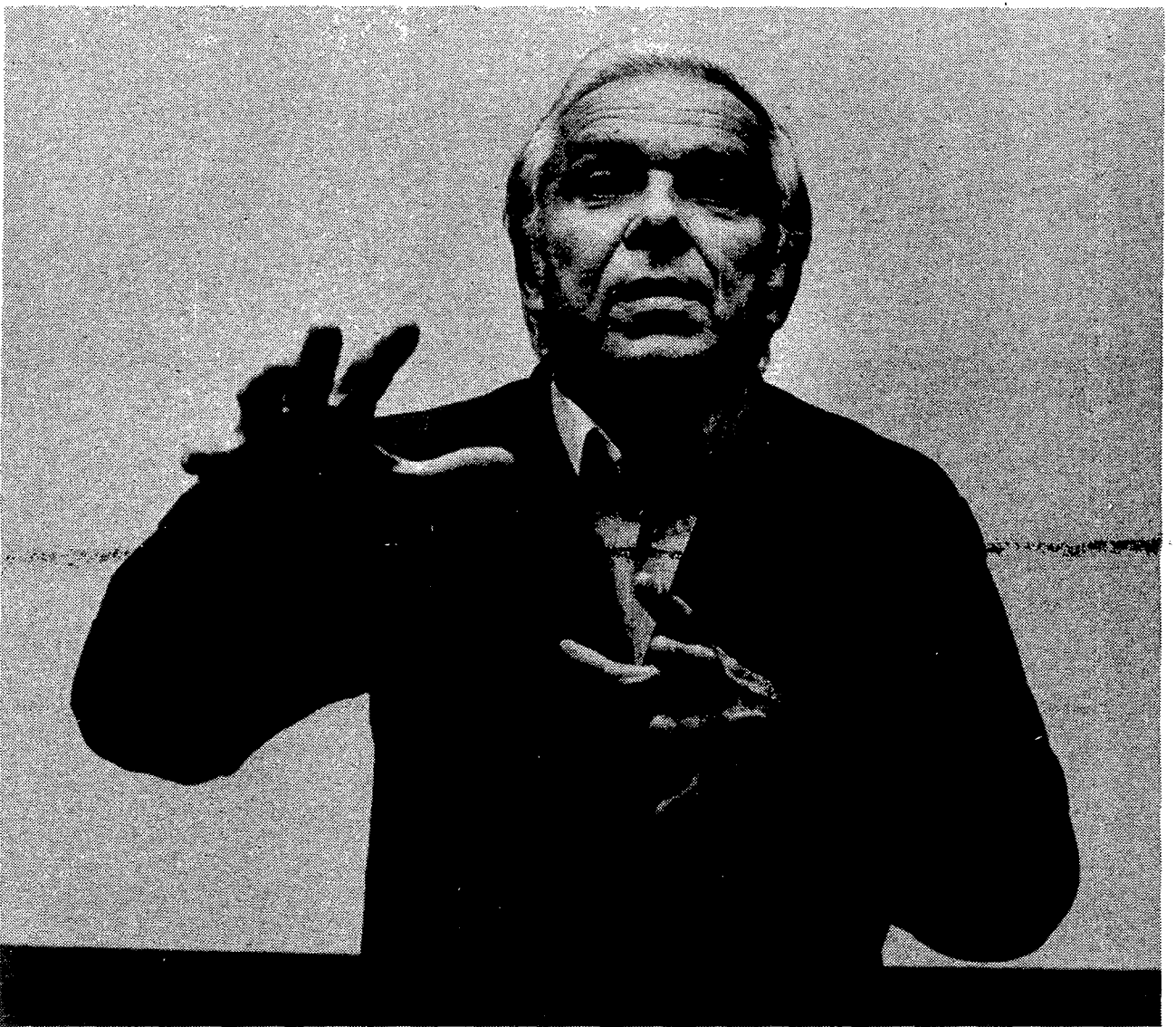
**T**he best known Cuban filmmaker outside the country is Santiago Alvarez, whom Jean-Luc Godard has called "the world's best documentarian." Alvarez is also a Deputy to the National Assembly of the People's Power—the equivalent of our U.S. Congress.

One of the programs screened for us was a selection of his documentaries and a sampling of the weekly newsreels made under his supervision. No other program evoked such diverse or such emotional reaction. Some of the questions put to him afterwards were clearly hostile. Alvarez answered with a passionate and at times very witty defense of the position of the revolutionary government of which he is a part.

For example, when Jeanne Miller of the *San Francisco Examiner* asked what, "if any, difference there is between Cuba's intervention in Angola and ours in Vietnam?" Alvarez answered that there was an enormous difference between imperialism and international revolutionary solidarity.

"We are not looking for raw materials in Africa," he said. "Nor do we have any banks or monopolies there. We don't even sell our sugar to Africa!"

Referring to one of the documentaries just screened, which dealt with the War of Cuban Independence (what our history books call the Spanish-American War), he said, "Those names on the screen at the end—they were people from Colombia, Venezuela, Puerto Rico, the U.S.—even from China! People who came to help us fight for our independence. Why, the general-in-chief of our liberation army was not a Cuban! He was a Dominican, Maximo Gomez."



Cori Wells Braun

Let me tell you that I am a filmmaker, but I am first of all a political person. Cinema is my means of communicating. If I were a writer, I would write political novels and articles. If I were a musician, I would compose political music. Because the world is political. Man is a political animal. Even Aristotle said so.

**Santiago Alvarez**





Film posters on display in the lobby of ICAIC.

We are not afraid to criticize the bad things we do. We are not perfect. In any socialist revolution errors will be committed. Because there is no previous experience. Besides, the greatest scientists are those who make the greatest mistakes. How many experiments does one of them do—experiments that fail—in order to achieve success? And the Revolution is a great experiment. **Santiago Alvarez**

"We have a debt of gratitude to the people of the world—an internationalist tradition that goes back to the last century."

John Huddy of the *Miami Herald* advanced the opinion that "the presence of one foreign country on the soil of another—regardless of what doctrine is involved—is still imperialism." But Alvarez rejected the position as ridiculous. Imperialism, by definition, implies the exploitation of an underdeveloped country by a stronger power, he said.

"Besides, the Angolan government requested our help. And who was fighting against them? South Africa, a racist country that had invaded Angolan territory before Cuba sent soldiers."

On Katanga: Alvarez scoffed at the notion that "the French and U.S. governments are going there to save their compatriots from being murdered by revolutionaries. Examine the situation: the raw materials—minerals, including uranium—resources that are being exploited by Belgian, English and West German enterprises, as well as the U.S. and French...."

"You have wanted to involve us to justify this new aggression. But the Katangans have not been assisted by Cuba, either directly or indirectly."

**Huddy:** To return to the subject of filmmaking: in that documentary you made about Vietnam (*79 Springtimes*, a tribute to Ho Chi Minh on his last birthday), there were very moving pictures of children with their faces shot off. If Cuban bullets and bombs do that to African children, would you make a documentary on it?

**Alvarez:** No. Because Cuban bombs are not aimed at African children. The bombs dropped by U.S. pilots on Hanoi were. That's the difference....

"We are saving children.... We sent 1,000 doctors and 1,000 teachers to Angola. Because Portuguese colonialism—the dictator Salazar that the U.S. and France helped so much—left 87 percent illiteracy in Angola. And also in Mozambique in all the territories they had enslaved."

"We send doctors, teachers and soldiers—because soldiers are also needed. We send what we do not have! We are still a people under blockade. We need medicine. But we send medicine to Africa. We need more doctors in Cuba, but we send doctors to Africa."

"That is the kind of bullets we shoot at African children!"

Asked about the assistance given to political filmmakers from other Latin American countries (many of

whom were attending a convention in Havana at the time of our visit), Alvarez explained that "Latin America has had no tradition of filmmaking. There are only two or three countries that had a film industry: Argentina, Brazil, Mexico—and, since the Revolution, Cuba."

"Small groups have emerged in the various countries—Uruguay, Bolivia, Chile, and so on. Political intellectuals, exiles. We offer them all the assistance we can: our facilities for editing, montage, sound—even raw stock. And if they need personnel, we give them that. Our doors are open.... And it's not only in filmmaking. We have students from all the countries of Latin America here, studying medicine, architecture—whatever they want."

On news coverage in the U.S. press, Alvarez was mordant. Although "on Sunday it takes a wagon to take the *New York Times* to your room to read," there is, he claimed, more truth in Havana's four-page daily, *Granma*.

"When I was in the U.S., I asked around at universities and lots of other places what people knew about the Barbados sabotage." (He refers to the October 1977 explosion of a Cuban airliner in which 73 people, including Alvarez's wife, were killed, and for which the Cuban government claims to have proof of CIA responsibility. Alvarez made a film of the public memorial which was attended by over one million people in the *Plaza de la Revolution*.)

"No one knew anything!"

On freedom of the press: "When we were in San Francisco, we went to a meeting. The auditorium was filled with students and professors. Hundreds—maybe thousands! Outside there were about ten or 12 Vietnamese *gusanos* (literally, worms; a term applied to Cubans who left the country after the Revolution, presumably now on the side of, if not actively involved in, counter-revolutionary activity). The whole street is full of equipment—remote control TV—filming what? The picketers!"

"Censorship in the U.S. is very simple. They let you have your meeting. But all the U.S. people ever hear about it on TV is the ten Vietnamese with signs against their government. Nothing about the fact that in a U.S. city so many hundreds of people are celebrating the third anniversary of the Vietnam victory!"

"That's freedom of the press!"

A question about the difference in style between the Cuban cinema and the Chinese set Alvarez off on a diatribe against the Cultural Revolution, which he ob-

served first-hand on his way to and from Hanoi.

"The Chinese don't make cinema any more. We had here in Cuba two Chinese cameramen—very good comrades. They did some of the best documentaries ever made in China. Every time I go to Peking, I ask about them. No one knows anything. They have disappeared."

"If the Cultural Revolution had really been what it said, we would all have supported it. But it was...something dehumanizing: the so-called revisionists taken around the streets with feathers stuck all over them and hundreds of people following and screaming... That is neither cultural nor revolutionary."

Someone accused him of violating the precept featured at the end of his film about Ho Chi Minh—that disagreements should not be permitted to divide the socialist camp.

"I believe that," Alvarez said. "Only I don't know what camp China is in. Is it with Pinochet? Or Ceso Seco (a play on words in which he translates Sesi Seko into Spanish as "dry brains") and the racists of South Africa?"

"If the Chinese have declared Nixon a permanent honored guest after you threw him out of the presidency, what are we to think? Is that a socialist country?"

Asked if he made a distinction between the Chinese people and their leaders, Alvarez said yes, emphatically.

"I have faith that these mandarins that are now in control of China will be ousted, sooner or later, by an internal revolution."

"You know what goes on in China. One day Mao is good; then he is not so good. One day Lao-tze and Confucius—all the great intellectuals—are eliminated from Chinese history. Then the Gang of Four is blamed for that. Dung Chao Ping is accused as a revisionist; then he is back. Every three or four years, new mandarins!"

"But the Chinese people will get tired of all these ambitious groups because they are a revolutionary people. There was a great revolution, and its seeds are there in their spirit."

Towards the end of the interview Alvarez was asked about the newsreels—how they were used after their initial showing; whether group discussions were organized around them, how popular they are.

"They are very popular," he said. "In fact, many people like them better than the feature." (This was intended to and did get a laugh from some of his colleagues—feature filmmakers—who were present.) "As you could see, some deal with national and international events. Others are dedicated to criticism and self-criticism. Like the one you saw called *Bread* (a ten-minute all-out satirical attack on the quality of bread produced in the nationalized bakeries of Havana). People write us letters, call us on the telephone and ask us to do more of that sort of criticism."

"We are not afraid to criticize the bad things we do. We are not perfect."

"In any socialist revolution errors will be committed. Because there is no previous experience."

"Besides, the greatest scientists are those that make the greatest mistakes. How many experiments does one of them do—experiments that fail—in order to achieve success?"

"And the Revolution is a great experiment." ■



# Old age is of interest to everyone, the youth of today and the old of tomorrow.

B.R.J.

## GROWING OLD

Cubans can retire on full pension at 65, but they don't have to. When the opportunity was first offered, many took advantage of it. But before long the *jubilados* (the word for "retired persons" is literally "jubilated") found themselves not only lonely and bored, but suffering from deteriorating health.

A new documentary by Ildefonso Ramos tells the story of one group of *jubilados* who solved their problem in a more-than-socially-acceptable way.

### B.R.J. (RED BRIGADE OF THE RETIRED):

In the town of Baguano in Oriente Province there is an unusually high percentage of old people. (Many of the young have left for better work or educational opportunities elsewhere.) The old people stood in line a lot. (Everyone in Cuba stands in line a lot.) While they waited, they talked about what was wrong with the town, their health and the weather.

A few men who had worked together in the near-by sugar mill got the idea of organizing themselves into a brigade (everything in Cuba is accomplished by "brigades") and building something the town needed. For instance, a pavillion where people could relax out of the sun, have a cold drink or a meeting in comfort.

They took their project to the local authorities and got a lukewarm go-ahead: permission to use a vacant and somewhat forbidding piece of land. They would have to get their own building materials, equipment and,

of course, blue prints from which to work.

None of these men had ever worked in construction, but that didn't faze them. They scoured the region till they found an architect willing to draw up their plans, and while he worked, they scoured the countryside for sand and rocks to start on the foundation.

There were 29 old men at the start, the youngest 65, the oldest 84 and deaf as a post. In deference to "the declined strength of some," they decided to let each man set his own pace (with frequent rest periods) and to work on the average of four hours a day.

(This happens to be the scientifically established norm for heavy labor done by people of this age group. But that is not why the old men settled on it. They had, as they explain in the film, other responsibilities, like shopping, housekeeping, and in one case the care of an invalid wife.)

The best anecdote about the adventure of the construction concerns the acquisition of the columns, called for in the architect's design as supports for the roof. No one had any idea how or of what to make a column. But one old sugar worker remembered a heap of discarded pipes that had been in the storage yard of the mill for years.

Wary of rebuffs by "the authorities," the brigade selected a "delegation" to sneak into the mill under cover of darkness and "borrow" a single length of pipe to make sure it would serve their purpose. (There is a marvelous scene in the film where the old men re-enact their struggle to slip a 12-foot length of six-inch cast-iron pipe over a high cyclone fence.)

Once sure of their ground, the delegation called on the representatives of the People's Power and asked for the whole stack of discarded pipes. The authorities said they would "take the application under consider-

ation." But the old men (who may have seen *The Death of a Bureaucrat*, cf p. 13) threatened to denounce them in the newspapers unless they got instant action.

They did, and in due course, the town got its refreshment pavillion.

It has also acquired, thanks to the *jubilados*, a new fish market and two parks. At the time the film was being shot, the brigade was working on an air-conditioned motion picture house, which will open some time this summer or fall with the premier showing of *B.R.J.*

There are 69 in the brigade now. At one point there were 72, but three have died during the four years of its existence. All of them testify that they feel much better since they began working again.

"I got so bad that when I sat for a while, I could hardly get up," says one old man, seen pouring sand into the cement mixer.

Frequent physical exams at the polyclinic confirm that "their cardio-vascular systems are toned up, and their muscles work better because of continuous, moderate exercise."

Director Ramos was asked in the discussion following the screening why there were no old women in the film. "Because none have joined the brigade," he said. The fact is that most Cuban women in their 60s and 70s are not "retired." They are working harder than ever at the same jobs they did in the "prime of life"—housekeeping and child-rearing. (Cf the meeting with the women of ICAIC, p. 12.)

*B.R.J.* was made, as Ramos explained, not so much to stimulate other towns to follow the example of Baguano (as many have) as to stimulate people of all ages to think about the problems of growing old.

"Retirement is an art," says the voice of the narrator, "and like all arts it must be practiced."

As he speaks we are watching two *jubilados* rolling a stone too large for either to manage alone. Then one of the "youngsters" (i.e. under 70) taking his turn at bat in a baseball game with some 20-year-olds. He connects on the second try and—cheered by his comrades of the B.R.J.—beats the throw to first. ■

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An examination of social problems still being resolved despite the profound transformation of the Cuban revolution. The film dramatically confronts sexist attitudes that are a part of the "hangover" from pre-revolutionary days.  
"An extraordinary film."—Rob Baker, *Soho News*.  
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Pesaro Film Festival

### THE TEACHER

The dramatic adventures of a teen-aged teacher's experiences in the countryside during Cuba's 1961 literacy campaign. We share the city-bred youth's fears and joys as, overcoming resistance from the peasants he is to teach how to read and write, he undergoes a rapid development into young adulthood.  
"Engrossing adventure...charming...deeply moving."—Judith Crist, *New York Post*.  
Silver Bear, Berlin Film Festival



# IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

## The Clamor against "Big Government"

How can socialists favor a non-statist socialism without becoming pawns of the conservative clamor against "Big Government"?

Government's role in economic development and social control has been "big" throughout American history, despite ideological pretensions to the contrary. Before the Civil War, the federal government controlled land resources and foreign trade; state governments rigorously regulated property relations (including slavery and women's subordination), education and morals, and heavily subsidized economic development.

From the Civil War to the New Deal the age of "laissez-faire," state and federal governments intervened widely in economic development and social control, ranging from land use and railroad building, to foreign economic expansion to fiscal and monetary controls, business regulation, education and morals, and racist and sexist oppressions.

In these earlier periods government's role was largely the product of conflict and compromise among propertied interests. Even government regulation of business, which was structured mostly between 1890 and 1932, came less from demands by the non-propertied than from business interests seeking government aid in stabilizing markets or protecting them from each other's avarice. "Laissez-faire" was the parent of regulation, just as competition spawned concentration. The regulation that business incessantly complains about has been shaped and administered primarily by fellow business executives and corporate lawyers.

Since the 1930s, government's role in serving the corporations has taken on three new dimensions: First, it has become more immediately and deeply involved in directing the economy in order to save it from the chaos of the "free" market, by creating a nearly riskless market for goods and services and by accumulating and allocating investment funds for private profit. Second, with the rise of labor as a potent force in national politics government has taken a more direct role in adjusting and maintaining the capital-labor relationship. Third, with the shift of labor from goods production to services, many not suited to profit-making, government has become a large-scale employer.

Over the past two decades, the greatest growth in government activity has occurred at the state and local levels, in essential services like education, health care, welfare, mass transit, police and safety. But in that same period, federal spending as a percent of gross national product has not grown significantly.

In recent years, 1975-77, federal, state, and local government spending combined declined from 35 to 32.8 percent of GNP. The number of people on the federal payroll, except for during the Vietnam war, has remained at about five million since 1961. Two-thirds of these are employed by the Department of Defense and the armed services.

### What conservatives want.

"Big Government" is the creation and servant of capitalist society. Bigness is not the real issue. The issue is whom government serves, by whom it is controlled, what it does.

Conservative howlers against "big government" do not want less government. They want more government aid to business and less to labor. They want more government suppression of freedom for business' opponents and the press, less government inhibitions on profit-making.

They lobby to defeat a \$15 million consumer protection agency, but applaud the



*"Is that any way to talk to your parent company?"*

**The real issue is not "bigness," but whom government serves, by whom it is controlled, and what it does.**

appropriation of \$1.7 billion to the Department of Commerce to promote business interests at home and abroad. They keep the Federal Trade Commission's entire budget at one-fifth the amount that Procter & Gamble spends for TV advertising alone.

When in 1973 Ralph Nader and Mark Green invited the Chamber of Commerce and seven other trade associations to join in an effort to reduce federal subsidies, they all rejected out of hand such a "Laissez-faire" absurdity.

Conservatives denounce government bureaucracy, waste, corruption, and inefficiency. But except for the Defense Department, over which conservatives never seem to become indignant, the giant corporations are the biggest bureaucracies in history. Compared with corporations, many government agencies are veritable town meetings.

Corporate waste and inefficiency as measured by under-capacity operations, unemployment, worker demoralization, environmental damage, excessive prices, public subsidies, and misuse of surplus capital, is the open secret of the western world. Their corruption of the economic process and of political democracy is daily news. Nearly three-fifths of the members of the big corporations' Business Roundtable have been implicated in illegal political payoffs or anti-trust violations. Their "bigness" goes without saying.

Conservatives direct all their broadsides against bureaucracy, bigness, inefficiency and waste at government, not at giant corporations, which in fact are bureaucratic governments, organized oligarchically and insulated from social responsibility and democratic control.

Popular distrust of government is at least in part a well-founded response to government subservience to the corporate system. The people pay taxes and see themselves getting little or shabby services from a government dominated by capital.

Yet even in the past decade, when trust in government has sunk to an all-time low, Americans by two-to-one (according to University of Michigan Surveys) support specific government programs to promote full employment, better housing, health care, desegregation, consumer and environmental protection.

American capitalists have their cake and eat it too. They have created a huge government to maintain their property and power, while discrediting government dedicated to other purposes. The capitalist strategy is designed to preempt the impulse on the part of labor and other popular movements to make government serve the public good.

The core of capitalists' power is their property, served by big government. For working class people, the core of their power, still more potential than actual, is publicly elected bodies, including but not limited to governmental ones, that subject economic and political processes to the rigors of democracy.

Socialism involves public ownership and democratic control of the economy through governmental and other public bodies. The question is, how can we Americans square growing public power, and ultimately socialism, with our firm and healthy aversion to statist authoritarianism. And how can we head off the powerful tendencies now current toward corporate-statist authoritarianism?

Not by joining the conservative band-

wagon against "big government," which is essentially a smokescreen for bigger capitalist power in the market and in government. Rather, by reinvigorating the principle of government of, for, and by the people, and thereby the principle of bringing government at all levels "closer" to the people. Corporate concentration of wealth and power, left intact, makes such government impossible; it substitutes the sovereignty of capital for the sovereignty of the people.

Strengthening the legislative as against the executive branch, and restoring fiscal viability, hence effective authority, to states and localities, are the conditions for a true federalist partnership and for a decentralization of governmental power. Corporate economic concentration, property ownership, and control of the economic surplus, together with its political muscle, have beggared the states and localities and made them dependencies of centralized power in the corporate boardrooms and Washington.

Democratic liberties are indivisible from the struggle to establish an equalitarian society free from class domination. The statism that is obnoxious to the American people does not flow from "big government" but from government not truly representative of the people, not rigorously held to enforcing equality and to disciplining bureaucracy with democratic purposes and norms. Government must be strictly limited in its powers and authority, especially in realms of conscience: speech, the press, religion, association and travel. A non-statist socialism means the people, not the government or a party, must rule.

American socialists and others on the left need to think through the question of government and democracy. We need to debate the issue candidly and publicly. Not to do so will leave us politically confused and immobilized. It will leave the initiative with the conservatives and right-wingers and imperil the prospects for democracy in the U.S. The time to begin thinking, and acting upon that thinking, is long overdue.



# Letters

## Good idea, but how can it be done?

IN HIS ARTICLE ON PROPOSITION 13 (*ITT*, July 19) Stanley Aronowitz focuses on several issues now dominating California politics.

First, real estate interests, developers and other segments of local capital were key in the passage of Prop. 13. This is evident in the Santa Barbara area where local real estate and development organizations, long a dominant force in local politics, took a strong stand in favor of Prop. 13 and against the Santa Barbara city rent control initiative. Now rents are increasing, human services have been drastically reduced or eliminated and public employees have received increased work loads rather than a paltry 2½ percent pay increase.

Second, the left seems unable to unite on a strategy to fight the ill effects of Prop. 13. Aronowitz' observation that Prop. 13 has both conservative and progressive features is important. The problem is how to identify the progressive features (if they exist) and then isolate them from the conservative without threatening essential human services.

Third, Prop. 13 points to the bankruptcy of liberal-democratic politics and the paralysis of the left. How do we build an effective left-progressive movement with clearly defined goals and objectives and a strategy for political action without becoming isolated from the general community as has happened so often in the past? I agree that it is necessary to organize and fight on the cultural level, as well as the political and economic, in order to reach the normally isolated so-called middle class (for lack of a better term) and integrate them into a general movement for social change. However, I wish Aronowitz had suggested some means for doing this. The California left and the American left in general have reached an important crossroads: where do we go from here?

—James H. Membrez  
Carpinteria, Calif.

## Cape Cod Health Care

ON SATURDAY, AUG. 19, THE Cape Cod Health Care Coalition will hold a health fair and rally on the Hyannis Village Green on Cape Cod, Mass. This will be the culmination of three days of events beginning with a demonstration at the Cape Cod Hospital on Thursday, Aug. 17. Off-Cape participants at these events will be provided camping space at a lake-side camp ground near Hyannis. The charge for camping is \$1 a day. All other activities are free.

An amalgam of medicaid recipients, senior citizens, community organizations and members of the Mass. Hospital Workers, Local 880, the Coalition is a unique example of consumers and workers struggling together for a common cause. The Coalition has forced the Hospital to distribute a patient rights handbook, it has filed a complaint against the hospital for failing to provide equal treatment for medicaid recipients and it has consistently agitated for more community input into the hospital's decision-making structure.

Our demonstration on Aug. 17 will focus on the Coalition's demand for a women's clinic, an out-patient department, geriatric day-care services and an end to the hospital's policy of taking liens against the homes of patients unable to pay for services. The demonstration will take place outside the hospital's fund-raising dinner where nearly 1,000 people will pay \$125 to hear comedian Bob Hope. We'll be there with the slo-

gan "Health Care Is No Laughing Matter."

People wishing to camp should call the Coalition at (617) 771-8661 to make arrangements. People coming for the demonstration should come to the Coalition office at 583 Main St., Hyannis, MA 02601.

We look forward to seeing IN THESE TIMES readers at the demonstration.

—Lawrence J. Magid  
Fair and Rally Coordinator  
Hyannis, Mass.

## Wage-price controls

JOHN JUDIS' "A HANDY GUIDE to misunderstanding inflation" (*ITT*, July 19) was excellent. I hope that it will be followed up with a discussion of "a structural impasse" and "structural changes" mentioned in the story.

I hope too that you will see George Meany in a more positive light. His economic statements—like Edward Heath's political statements on minorities and the poor in the U.K.—make more sense than most liberals and economists. He at least has kept unemployment to the fore. He is also talking about structural changes such as protectionism, which is one of the long-term structural changes the U.S. faces (and a socialist U.S. will require). Hobson's attack on the imperialist (multinational) corporations of pre-World War I U.K. is pertinent here. What is needed is showing how AFL-CIO positions could be linked with (progressively-oriented) long-term structural policies.

Wage-price controls are necessary, but unions are right to resist now. For how controls are carried out is crucial. The question is not the "form" of such policies, as Judis states, but their political context. Profits might be legislatively included in the controls but is a pro-private investment administration going to restrict them if there is not a powerful political-economic demand for profit limitation?

I hope that *ITT*, which is doing a great job, will take up these issues.

—S.M. Miller  
Boston, Mass.

## Depends on us

ENCLOSED IS A CHECK TO HELP with financial problems. IN THESE TIMES has indeed come to mean something important to me over the last year and a half. Although I sometimes think your editorials are overly optimistic and cannot share all your particular enthusiasms, I nonetheless depend heavily on IN THESE TIMES for the news, and continually learn a great deal from it.

I sincerely hope you raise enough money. It is very important, especially now, that IN THESE TIMES survive.

—Elizabeth Garrels  
Amherst, Mass.

## The best of two lefts

ITT COMBINES THE FRESH POLITICAL imagination of the new left with the old left's concern for political analysis; it is the most intelligently issue-oriented and undogmatic socialist paper to have come out of the U.S. May you live long and grow big, without becoming fat and flabby.

—Christian Bay  
Toronto, Ontario

## Overcoming skepticism

AFTER SOME INITIAL SKEPTICISM, I have come to see IN THESE TIMES as an important forum and source of information for people who are interested in making fundamental changes in this society. I was originally doubtful about whether *ITT* could move beyond the tired and discredited reformism of the left, which has degenerated into another version of liberal reformism. Your coverage of the anti-nuclear movement and, more importantly, your excellent section on religion has moved me to write this.

I hope you will be able to continue probing those forces that keep us from

realizing a fully human life, in all its sacredness, as individuals and as a part of the world.

—Jack Miller, Editor  
North Country Anvil  
Millville, Minn.

## Criticism, yes; anti-communism, no

AS CO-AUTHORS OF AN ARTICLE (*ITT*, Aug. 9) revealing distorted American news coverage of the Western settlement for Namibia, we found Louis Menashe's article on the opposite page surprisingly generous in its interpretation of American media activities in the Soviet Union. Yet Menashe's article raises questions in our own minds.

Why, for instance, does he call the charges against Shcharansky—particularly those concerning his association with Robert Toth of the *Los Angeles Times*—"flimsy," while ignoring evidence that even *Newsweek* calls "damaging"—namely, a letter retrieved from Toth's trash can that, as even Toth admits, has the head of the Pentagon Defense Intelligence Agency praising Toth for "doing good work" in Moscow?

Why does Menashe fail to pinpoint the information passed from Shcharansky to Toth, which even *Newsweek* describes as "the names of secret Soviet defense plants?"

Why does Menashe effectively commend Radio Luxembourg and Voice of America for giving millions of Soviet citizens "the news" without reminding his readers that both stations have historic ties with the master dispenser of disinformation: the CIA?

And why, we wonder, did Menashe avoid such issues as the cooperation of hundreds of American journalists with the CIA, or the CIA's reliance on its ally Mossad (Israeli intelligence) to collect information on the Soviet Union from dissident Jews?

Criticism of Soviet policies based on the facts and a fair and accurate historical analysis of them is acceptable, but attacks on the Soviet Union based on the line of the CIA and a press hostile to socialism is strange for a socialist. By blindly accepting—if not actually watering down—the Western version of the Shcharansky story, Menashe—and *ITT*—have succeeded in reproducing the anti-communist propaganda that has plagued this country for decades.

—Gerard Colby and Charlotte Dennett  
New York

## Angry record-straightening

UNFORTUNATELY, I'M NOT A cool lady. If I were, I wouldn't be writing this hot and angry—bitter, if you will—response to the article by J. Judis (*ITT*, Aug. 2) describing "immaculately dressed, quiet patrician" Lee Webb as "the founder" of the National Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies. That statement, to put it most kindly, is a distortion. Lee Webb is not "the founder" of the National Conference (or NCASLPP).

This is the second time I have felt, very personally, the impact of mythmakers and perhaps I shouldn't be so bitter so soon. But I don't like it and I get especially angry when it's done by left writers and historians.

The first gross case of historical myth-making I have experienced is in the time-honored tradition of re-writing history in the male image. For a decade now, every book, article or reference about the anti-war struggles of the '60s (mostly written by former SDS males) has strengthened the mythology that it all began with and the backbone of it was the male members of SDS. (Curiously, the Judis article underlines a gratuitous kudo to Webb that he was an SDS national president.)

The facts are that American women, of all ages, working within a variety of structured and non-structured women's organizations were at least as early and as much the backbone of the anti-war movement as the male SDS students. Women Strike for Peace (with which I

was associated) formed in 1961 in an anti-nuclear protest, officially moved into work against the Vietnam war at our 1963 national conference. The forgotten fact is that the first Americans to meet with Vietnamese from Hanoi and from the southern National Liberation Front were women. Six members of Women Strike for Peace (WSP) met for discussions with six Vietnamese women in Indonesia in July 1965, following an arrangements trip to Hanoi that Spring by two other members of WSP. It is also an interesting fact that the first Pentagon demonstration was staged by thousands of women, organized by WSP, in February 1967.

Now for the Judis story. In this case it is not only a sexist, but equally a political and an elitist re-writing of history. To get the facts straight, one can begin at the beginning. While Webb was on the faculty of Goddard College in Vermont, he was also a doctoral student under Dr. Leonard Rodberg, then chair of the Ph.D. program at the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS). Another doctoral candidate of Rodberg's was Derek Shearer, well known to *ITT* readers as a political journalist. Discussions among those three about '60s activists who had settled down to serious, and successful, electoral politics, coincided with discussions going on between Marcus Raskin, then co-director of IPS, and a number of progressive anti-war activists, locally elected officials, notable among them, Madison (Wisc.) mayor Paul Soglin. Two other IPS Fellows, myself and Robb Burlage, an experienced political organizer with considerable background in labor and health policies, were participants of those early brain-storming sessions. With Raskin's sponsorship, a project was set up at IPS to study this political phenomenon, which I then headed. At the end of about six months preliminary and exploratory work, we decided to hold a national meeting of these officials in Soglin's bailiwick, in the summer of 1975.

That was the beginning of NCASLPP. Those named above—and many others—were the "founders." For the next year or so, I was the only full-time organizer, the national "co-ordinator," and the editor of the national newsletter. Webb from Vermont, Burlage and Rodberg from IPS, Shearer from California, and many, many others, continued to expend enormous energy in organizing, writing, and planning for the Conference. Later we acquired more staff. Webb and I were sometimes referred to as the "co-founders" (a myth) and we did work well together as co-heads until certain climactic events took place at IPS.

The history of the internal fight at IPS is irrelevant to this issue. What is relevant is that among the "founders" of NCASLPP, Rodberg, Burlage and myself joined other Fellows to found the Public Resource Center, under conditions that made it intolerable for us to continue our work with NCASLPP. But the fact that we are no longer at IPS should not require that we retroactively disappear either from its history or from the history of NCASLPP.

—Barbara Bick  
Washington, D.C.

## Correction:

In last week's issue, the name of the author of the article on Bertell Ollman and *Class Struggle* was inadvertently omitted. The article was by Ira Shor.

**Editor's note:** Please keep letters under 250 words. Otherwise we must make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, please type and double-space letters, or at least write clearly and with wide margins. Letters must be signed, with a return address. We will withhold your name or use a pseudonym if you wish, but we will not print unsigned letters or those without addresses.



Nancy Lieber

## In the twilight of capitalism Reflections of Prop. 13 in France



Departing California at the end of June for a year of research and writing in Europe, we left the highly politicized climate of a society just beginning to suffer the repercussions of its recent electoral folly, Prop. 13. Arriving in Paris, we found the opposite—a society sensibly preparing for its summer shut-down, *les grandes vacances* of July and August. In France, more than anywhere else, not only does much production literally come to a summer halt, but *politics* consciously ceases. This is only temporary. In September comes *la grande rentrée*, the return—not only to home, but, with spirit renewed, to politics. Yet, while in terms of political climate Davis and Paris momentarily seem worlds apart, there is a thread of continuity that reminds us daily of Davis and Prop. 13—it concerns social services.

First, Davis. Shedding its traditional real estate domination for a "new left" majority, the Davis City Council became known in the 1970s for its commitment to over-all planning (growth, environmental), energy conservation (bikeways, solar pioneering), and social services (Senior Citizens, recreation, child-care). Specifically for us, it meant our two sons spent the past few summers either going to half-day summer "school," full-day Migrant Daycamp (open to seasonal farmworkers' children and Davis residents' children), or a series of classes offered by the City of Davis Life Enrichment Program (art, music, sports). The first two programs were free, the latter charged only nominal fees.

Then came Prop. 13. Much more than a

mandate for property tax relief or a protest against Jerry Brown and Company's cynical hoarding of state funds, Prop. 13 was a conscious onslaught on the public sector and, therefore, a vehicle of class and racial division. What Prop. 13 voters really wanted, the polls told us, were vast cuts in the welfare budget. Yet those voters consistently failed to consider the consequences of the loaded Prop. 13 (not to mention the fact that two-thirds of the tax cut went to corporations and commercial property). An example was supplied by our family dentist in the neighboring town of Dixon. As a member of his district school board, he warned his constituents that their children's summer school would surely be cut if Prop. 13 passed. It seemed they were willing to have this happen, because what they really wanted was to cut off funding to the Migrant Children's Daycamp/Summer School Program. Prop. 13 passed and, as predicted, Dixon middle class kids are spending the summer in the streets. The migrant kids, however, have their program intact—it is *federally financed*. An initial reaction is: "Serves the Dixon voters right," but that doesn't help diminish the racial division that such Prop. 13 incidents create. In Davis, the purposefully integrated migrant daycamp was required this summer to exclude all of the non-migrant children. In addition, all music, art and sports programs have been eliminated from the Davis school curriculum.

We already know what happens when public services are cut back—private concerns move in. Gov. Reagan believed (and he acted budgetarily on the principle) that

the University of California should be a university of last resort, that if someone wanted a really fine education, he should go to Stanford. Thus, in the Sacramento area (and I assume throughout the state), newspaper ads began to appear just after June 6 for private summer schools. Most were religious (fundamentalist) establishments at that. Similarly, many recreational services such as those offered by Davis' imaginative Life Enrichment Program will now have to be sought elsewhere. Is it possible we are heading back to the Country Club era?

Which brings me back to Paris and one activity that does not shut down in July or August—the City of Paris Daycamp. This summer our two sons are among the thousands of Paris children who are bused daily to various recreational centers in the surrounding suburban forests. From 8:30 to 6:00 p.m. they run wild, do organized activities, swim in nearby community pools, play soccer, lie on the hay on the floor of their tents. The program has no charge, no advance sign-ups, no wait-lists, no compulsory attendance (to qualify for state funds, as in the U.S.), no paperwork (aside from a \$1 insurance receipt issued on the first day)—in short, no hassle. It is true the meals are not free (though they are subsidized for those who need it), but the five-course lunch, including things like artichoke hearts and Camembert cheese, offers considerably more—both in taste and nutrition—than the sloppy joes/applesauce/brownie school menus in Davis. The program, continuing until school resumes in mid-September, obviously provides an essential service for

working parents and working class/immigrant worker families who simply cannot afford to vacation away from home.

To our minds, the Paris Daycamp is the functional equivalent of the Davis Migrant Program. Yet, for whatever reasons (the right of children to fresh air, recreation, and healthy food? or traditional French government policies encouraging large families?) it would be unthinkable for any French government to terminate this program. It is a necessary service, not open to budgetary cuts or the electorate's whims. And in fact, its principle was established in 1871, when free public education for all French children—including pre-schools, nurseries, and day-care centers—was mandated by the new Third French Republic.

I realize the centralized, bureaucratic, standardized nature of many European social services raises difficult questions for socialists interested in decentralization and direct democracy. (Here it is interesting to note that Davis was one of few communities to vote overwhelmingly *against* Prop. 13. A major reason, I think, is that its city services were seen as necessary, efficient, welcome. Above all, they were considered responsive and controllable due to extensive voluntary participation by citizens on various city commissions.) But, of course, all these being serious political questions, I will have to wait for the September *rentrée* to consider them.

Nancy Lieber, a member of the National Board of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, is in France doing research on Eurosocialism.

Edward Gold

## Ollman's Maryland struggle is no game

The University of Maryland's College Park campus, politically dormant since the late 1960s, burst into widespread debate this month when new president John Toll rejected the appointment of Bertell Ollman, a Marxist, as chairman of the Government and Politics Department.

Ollman, an associate professor at NYU, had been nominated by a faculty search committee (which began with 140 candidates) and had been approved by the G&P faculty, the divisional provost, and the campus chancellor. Final authority, however, rests with the university president.

Throughout the spring, outgoing president Wilson Elkins refused to act on the appointment, as public pressure against Ollman mounted. Acting Maryland governor Blair Lee, considered the front-runner in this year's gubernatorial race, publicly opposed the appointment of a Marxist. Lee was supported by several state legislators, at least two members of the university's Board of Regents, and senior members of the G&P department, long considered one of the most conservative departments on the College Park campus.

Elkins refused to make a decision, departing from his long-standing tradition of never denying a faculty recommendation. Instead, he went ahead with retirement plans, allowing the matter to stand for over three months. The decision rested with incoming president Toll, former president of SUNY at Stony Brook, who took over the reins of the Maryland system on July 1.

Many faculty members and students have attacked Elkins for postponing the issue until the summer months, when the number of people on the College Park campus is only a fraction of its spring and fall population. The administration appeared to have learned some hard lessons from the large-scale demonstrations of

the late '60s and early '70s, when students and faculty by the thousands struck in April and May.

Toll, in his third week in office, rejected Ollman's appointment, claiming that Ollman was not "the best qualified" person available. He denied that Ollman's political beliefs played any part in the decision. Toll also cited an informal poll of

legedly did not wish to alienate the guardians of the school's funds.

The third approach is the one that Toll hopes will gain wide acceptance. He claims that he resisted pressure from the right and left, instead opting for a purely administrative decision that would clearly be consistent with his goals in the area of "faculty development." Ollman, Toll

### The inventor of *Class Struggle* loses appointment as head of Maryland University Government Department.

the G&P faculty, which he claimed favored the appointment two-to-one, but showed strong opposition to Ollman from certain unnamed senior faculty members.

For his part, Ollman retained the services of one of Washington's most prestigious law firms, Arnold and Porter, who filed suit against the Board of Regents, Elkins and Toll, demanding that Toll's decision be reversed and that \$300,000 be awarded Ollman.

Controversy around the incident breaks down into three clearly discernible points of view, interpreting Toll's decision as (1) anti-Marxist, (2) purely pragmatic, or (3) consistent with Toll's philosophy on faculty development.

The most popular interpretation is the first. A large number of students and faculty members maintain that the university administration simply refused to hire a Marxist.

The pragmatic interpretation roughly follows the lines that although Toll personally has no objections to hiring a Marxist, he submitted to thinly-veiled budgetary blackmail at the hands of the current governor and many state legislators. In his first month of office, Toll al-

claims, is not the person to lead the department to the upper regions of academic prestige.

Toll points to his record at Stony Brook to support his position. Unlike Elkins, Toll turned down 21 out of 58 faculty recommendations during his SUNY tenure. He told a group of students that he promoted at least one Marxist and that he was active in the anti-war movement.

"I am firmly committed to making the University of Maryland a forum where all points of view can be freely presented and examined," he stated after the decision. "But we don't have to alter our normal standards of appointment to make clear our toleration of various political opinions."

Ollman doesn't buy it. He alleges in his suit that his academic qualifications played no part in the decision. The rejection, he claims, represents a knuckling-under to pressure from on and off campus against his political beliefs.

The suit alleges that Toll, Elkins and the Board of Regents used Toll's apparent objectivity as the new president of the university as a pretext "to conceal their unlawful decision not to approve the ap-

pointment on the grounds of [Ollman's] political beliefs."

The American Association of University Professors (AAUP) called on Toll to reveal the specific reasons for the rejection. Jordan Kurland, associate general secretary, urged Toll in a telegram to abide by AAUP guidelines, which state that administrators should not deny chairmanships "without compelling reasons."

"Our position," said Kurland, "is that the president simply hasn't issued compelling reasons in detail." The AAUP threatened an investigation, which could result in a censure of Toll.

Toll has steadfastly refused to discuss his specific reasons for vetoing the recommendation. He cites both the suit and his desire to protect the confidentiality of sources of advice he received.

The only pocket of student opposition to Toll springs from a loose coalition of the university food co-op (a student-run organization) and members of the Revolutionary Students Brigade. A group of students was ejected from the Board of Regents meeting at which Toll announced his decision, when they attempted to address the board.

In a meeting later that day with Toll, the ejected students accused Toll of political suppression. They were particularly rankled by the three-month delay in the decision, which minimized student reaction.

The decision-making process in the academic world is rarely open to public scrutiny. In the absence of any specifics from Toll, observers are left to speculate whether Toll acted as an honest administrator (resisting pressure from both the left and the right) or as a knave who covered up questionable behavior with able administration.

Edward Gold teaches English at the University of Maryland.



## LIFE IN THE U.S.

## LABOR

## Safeway computers run workers ragged

By David Talbot

RICHMOND, CALIF.

**W**HEN DENNIS FLORES comes to work each morning, he is told by a computer what to do and how quickly to do it. Flores, a warehouseman at Safeway Stores' huge distribution center here, is handed a computer print-out sheet which specifies the number and type of crates he must load onto his pallet truck within a 60-minute period. If he falls behind the pace set by the computer more than once, he will be suspended. If he lags behind three times, he will be fired.

Safeway installed the computerized production system in April 1977 to increase worker productivity in the Richmond warehouse. The system was devised by the supermarket chain's industrial engineers, who spent one year observing the activities of the warehouse workers. "Before they put the computer in," said Flores, "Safeway officials assured us that it would be flexible, that it would take into account the various ages and physical abilities of the workers. That was a lie. This system is inhuman."

Last week, Flores and his 1,100 co-workers walked out of the warehouse, vowing not to return until the computerized system is "either modified or elim-

inated." "The main issue of our strike is working conditions," declared Teamsters Local 315, which represents the warehouse employees. "Safeway is trying to force us to accept a speed-up which no human being can stand for very long."

According to Loren Thompson, secretary-treasurer of Local 315, the new production system has increased each person's workload by "at least 50 percent." As a result, he said, more than 80 workers have suffered disabling injuries, "primarily back and shoulder strains." More than 50 workers, said Thompson, have been fired or suspended for failing to meet the higher production standards.

Strikers estimate that each employee is now required to lift at least 30,000 pounds of goods a day. "When I was hired, I had to load 125 cases an hour," said a young warehouseman. "Now my load is between 175 and 250 cases an hour. You've got to run to keep up with the program. I come out of the warehouse sweating like a dog, and I work in the frozen food section! They say that the computer is reasonable, that we should trust it. But it's killing us."

Safeway seems determined to keep the computerized system intact. "This particular system has been used very successfully at our warehouse operations in Los Angeles and El Paso," said company spokesman William Gross. "Richmond is the only place we've encountered any



Teamster warehousemen strike Safeway distribution facility. They are protesting computer-directed production system.

"I come out of the warehouse sweating like a dog, and I work in the frozen food section!"

problems." Safeway has reinforced its security force at the sprawling distribution center, which services 198 stores throughout northern California and Hawaii, and brought in several hundred supervisory personnel and non-union workers to handle the goods that are piling up inside the center.

Safeway refuses to negotiate with Local 315 and has labeled the strike a "wildcat." Safeway officials said they are meeting with representatives from the Western Conference of Teamsters to work out a settlement. But Thompson admitted that the Western Conference has not sanctioned the strike and has urged Local 315 members to return to work.

Meanwhile, the strike is spreading. Most of the Safeway supermarkets in Contra Costa county and a few others in San Francisco and Napa counties are being picketed. "We've got to teach Safeway a lesson," one striker declared. "We're human beings, not robots."

David Talbot is a free-lance writer in Berkeley, Calif., who writes regularly for IN THESE TIMES

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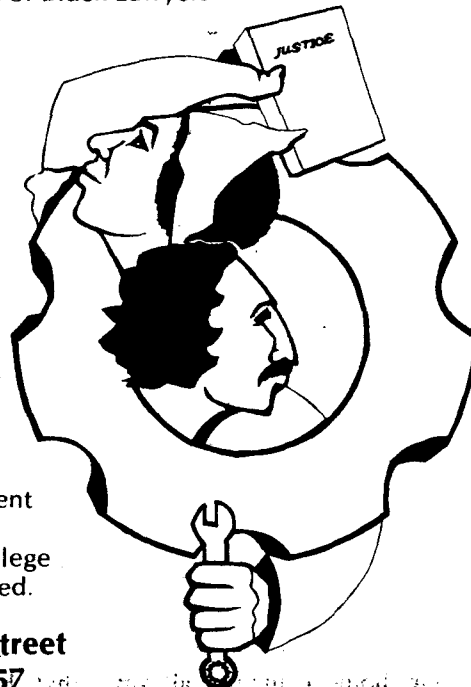
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## HEALTH

# Kennedy chokes on Carter's little health plan pills

By Alan Wolfe

**P**RESIDENT CARTER'S PLAN FOR a national health care system, unveiled July 29, sought very few concessions from the American Medical Association and other groups opposed to government sponsored health care. His plan did little to threaten the medical establishment's interests and offered little to Americans who, faced with rising medical costs, seek some form of national health insurance.

Since the late 1940s a substantial plurality of the American population has favored a government-run health care system. Between 1968 and 1970, public support for national health insurance, universal coverage, and curtailments on fee for service grew enormously. Dramatic inflation of health care costs undermined the awe and respect that people once felt towards the medical establishment and increased the desire for a national system of health insurance.

Paradoxically, at the same time that they want protection against inflated health care costs, Americans also worry about the size of government and the rate of taxation. There is a general feeling that past experiments in social welfare were misguided, wasteful and inflationary. In this atmosphere, specific interest groups whose prerogatives are threatened by any new programs can encourage attacks on government spending with some success, though public support for much of the welfare state remains high.

Politicians have reacted differently to these apparently contradictory attitudes. For right wing politicians, only the attack on government seems to matter. They want limits placed on spending and on taxes, and if no new programs can be created, that is just too bad. They see nothing wrong with the market and argue that we should turn to it for as many social services as possible, including medical care. This position, slightly modified, has also proved attractive to some Democrats like California's Gov. Jerry Brown, who is trying to win approval for a plan to place a limit on government spending.

Other politicians insist that many Americans support social services. They try to build a political coalition around programs, whatever the cost. This is organized labor's strategy, an approach endorsed by Kennedy.

Finally, there are politicians who avoid taking a position and try to salvage the best of both worlds. This is what Carter is trying to do.

## Carter's health care proposals.

Carter argues that his program does not leave health care to market forces and, at the same time, does not contribute to the growth of government. Smart politicians are expected to take the middle path, but this assumes that one exists. In the case of health insurance, everything suggests that this is impossible.

The July 29 principles do not make specific legislative proposals but instead contain ten "theses" about health care. They can be read as a statement of intended policy, or they can be understood as a symbolic gesture to one constituency or another. Because ten principles do not a policy make, it seems important to translate what these proposals mean to the various constituencies that worry about national health insurance. Carter's principles and their translations run as follows:

1. "The plan should assure that all Americans have comprehensive health care coverage..." Directed to the population at large Carter is saying that the White

House listens to what Americans are saying about health care costs.

2. "The plan should make quality health care available to all Americans." With these words the Carter administration is acknowledging that, with an election coming up, poor people, especially those living in cities, vote for the Democratic Party and that its votes need to be courted.

3. "The plan should assure that all Americans have freedom of choice in the selection of physicians, hospitals, and health care delivery systems." Carter turns now to a different audience, the providers of health care. He tells them that he understands their need to make profits and assures them that he will do little to curtail that need. He does nothing to counter the premise that health care is a commodity that should be bought and sold on the open market, and he takes pains to remind doctors and lawyers that his Los Angeles speech attacking them was meant to be taken rhetorically, not seriously.

4. "The plan must support our efforts to control inflation in the economy by reducing unnecessary health care spending." The Carter administration is telling the experts in the health care delivery field that he approves of those national health insurance plans that emphasize efficiency over quality of care.

5. "The plan should be designed so that additional public and private expenditures for improved health benefits and coverage will be substantially offset by savings from greater efficiency in the health care system." To anyone that will listen, Carter is saying that if the costs of health care cannot be reduced, then the benefits will be.

6. "The plan will involve no additional federal spending until 1978... Thereafter the plan should be phased in gradually." The message here is simple: Carter wants us to forget all the proposals and remember that he promised to balance the budget. His proposals to guarantee every American protection against health costs should be taken as seriously as his plans to cut the defense budget.

7. "The plan should be financed through multiple sources..." If Carter cannot get the working class to pay the costs of its medical care directly, then he will get them to pay them indirectly through contributory taxation schemes.

8. "The plan should include a significant role for the private insurance industry, with appropriate government regulation." With this gesture to the huge financial empires like Blue Cross, Carter hopes to enlist their support. Blue Cross is willing. Its president, Walter J. McNerney, called Carter's statement of principles "wise."

9. "The plan...should promote major reforms in delivering health care services, increasing the availability of ambulatory and preventive services, attracting personnel to underserved rural and urban areas, and encouraging the use of prepaid health plans." Carter's implicit message is that other reforms, such as the idea of community controlled clinics in the Dellums Bill, will not be taken seriously by his administration.

10. "The plan should assure consumer representation throughout its operation." Carter is trying to reassure unions that they will play some role in overseeing the uses of its members' benefits. At the same time, the Carter administration is hoping that the consumers of medical care will possess the same kind of power and representation that consumers of automobiles and cat food now have.



*Most Americans favor some form of national health insurance. At the same time, they worry that it will be inefficient, cost too much money, and swell government bureaucracy.*

In short, Carter's principles are a tip-off to the powerful interests that oppose a system of government-run health care that he is aware of their needs. He assumes that fiscal limitations on government are necessary, downplays the role of constituencies that have roots in working class life, and promises that the status quo will be held intact. It is a program designed to be acceptable to the powerful. It begins with what the medical establishment finds acceptable and tries to build around that.

## Kennedy differs with President.

Sen. Kennedy's approach is quite different. It begins with what the constituents of the Democratic Party want, particularly the labor movement, and then seeks to organize a policy around that. And organized labor is very clear that it wants a national health insurance system. George Meany noted that the only two advanced capitalist countries that do not have one are the U.S. and South Africa.

Given this support, and the widespread desire for an end to rising medical costs, Kennedy is convinced that a more extensive system can be won.

Unlike Carter, who wants to "phase in" a health insurance policy over the years, Kennedy would make some immediate changes. The Kennedy-Corman bill would nationalize health insurance, as

opposed to the health care system.

In its original version this legislation would enable government to take over all financial mechanisms and use its control over payment plans to force socially desirable changes upon a still private system of health care delivery. The retention of the private sector is the major difference between Kennedy-Corman and the Dellums Bill. The latter would have the government administer a national health system and pay physicians directly. But whatever the differences between Kennedy's plan and the Dellums Bill, they both proclaim health care a matter of right, whereas Carter's states that the health of the economy is more important than the health of the individuals that compose it.

Whatever happens to the rift between Carter and Kennedy, the crucial question is whether or not the Democratic Party will succumb to the conservative mood that has settled over Congress. Jerry Brown and Jimmy Carter believe that the mood is deep and cannot be fought. They give the conservatives everything, then explain that the time is not ripe for fundamental changes. Kennedy takes another view. He believes the public is in a mood to accept national health care as a right. And that they will support it if they are given the opportunity. ■

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# THE INSIDE STORY



General Baker

Continued from page 2.

task today. General Baker is the author of a pamphlet calling for the repeal of Section 14B of the Taft-Hartley Act, which allows states to pass "right-to-work" laws; and if there was any national issue that he stressed in his campaign, it was this one.

After a brush with the anti-electoral sentiment of the '60s, the CLP has also gone full steam in the electoral arena. "Electoral work is the best way to legitimize the work you're carrying out on any level," Baker told me.

## Mature black working class.

In the Baker campaign, there were several things working in the CLP's and Baker's favor. Detroit has a politically mature black working class that has absorbed both the experience of trade unionism and the lessons of the civil rights movement. The League had a profound impact on these workers. Their leaders, from City Councilman Ken Cockrel to Baker, have continued to have a wide following among Detroit's blacks.

As one campaign worker acknowledged, many blacks in the 9th district were ready to vote for Baker "in spite of his communism." Others accepted communism, however defined, as another way of opposing the system.

The CLP's campaign also made it possible for non-communists to support Baker. Where communism or socialism was mentioned, it was an undefined, distant solution to problems much broader in scope and more difficult to comprehend than Highland Park's porno strip or its recalcitrant banks. "When the dollar goes down in value, the price of steel goes up," Baker explained in a speech. "That's decided by the IMF, and you can't do anything about that. We need to get rid of capitalism for that."

Finally the CLP organized an army of precinct work-

ers that in numbers and skill exceeded both the other campaigns and the Ferency forces. The CLP was counting on this army, plus General Baker's good name, to carry them past Highland Park City Council president Ethel Terrell, who had local church support as well as Conyer's endorsement, and black nationalist Gary Bennett, who was supported by the Black Slate and Coleman Young.

## Hayden revisited.

I spent election day travelling from one precinct to another talking to voters and precinct workers. The Baker workers were predictably omnipresent; the Ferency workers were not. In Hamtramck, a predominantly white working class city-within-Detroit adjacent to Highland Park, I could find no trace of Ferency, not even a poster. Some voters I interviewed had barely heard of him.

But in Highland Park, Ferency didn't need his own workers. Not only was the Black Slate distributing its endorsement, but Terrell's workers were also distributing Ferency literature. One older black autoworker that I talked to was typical. "I like Ferency because he's direct, he's earthy," he told me. When I asked him about Ferency's socialism, he replied, "Anyone who doesn't conform to the system, they brand him."

I went to dinner that night with some old friends. I was bothered by the memory of the 1976 Tom Hayden senate campaign when one week prior to the primary, Hayden had pulled even with John Tunney, only to be thrashed by Tunney in the election. But I still thought it was all right not to arrive at the Ferency party until 10 o'clock.

On the radio on the way over, we got the bad news. With a scant 2 percent of the votes tabulated, Fitzgerald had been declared a winner on the basis of a decisive two-to-one margin over Ferency. At the party, held in a swanky waterfront place called the Roostertail, a scant hundred followers standing listlessly around the dance floor while the BeeGees gargled in the background. "It is disastrous," campaign head Bob Alexander said.

At 10:30 Ferency gathered his campaign staff at a back table to discuss his concession speech. "You all did a great job," he said. "The figures indicate you all did a great job. My own feeling is that it is..." He paused to think of the word. "My own feeling is that it is a milestone."

Ferency said that he wanted to congratulate Fitzgerald and promise him his vote. Was that all right? "You should say it for the campaign committee, too," one staffer said.

Ferency asked them whether he should talk primarily to the group or to the media. "The group," they agreed.

In his speech, Ferency went over the accomplishments of the campaign: the surprising showing in Detroit, which was already evident from the results, the willingness of people to listen to a left-wing approach, even if they did not agree in the end. He stressed the importance of fighting the Headlee initiative in the fall. When he said that he and the campaign committee would support Fitzgerald, someone in the back muttered, "Fitzgerald's a fucking asshole."

Ferency declared that he "intended to keep the Democratic Socialist Caucus. We have gotten power within the Democratic Party and we intend to use it."

## Wearing two hats.

When I arrived after midnight at the General Baker party, Baker had already made his concession speech and gone to congratulate Terrell, the winner. But he had come in a respectable second in a field of nine."

Even at that late hour, the Baker party was in marked contrast to the Ferency affair. A heavy soul beat resounded in the low-roofed American Legion hall. The dance floor was still crowded, and the dancing was spirited. "At one level, we're disappointed," Glotta ex-

plained later. "At another level, we know we've accomplished a minor reorganization of political forces."

But Glotta did acknowledge that anti-communism had played a role in Baker's loss. "A lot of people wanted to vote for a progressive, but they didn't want to vote for a Communist, so they voted for Watts and Bennett." Glotta noted that with their votes Baker would have won easily.

I confirmed Glotta's thesis the next day when I visited Barbara Martin, the treasurer of the Black Slate. How could the Slate have backed the democratic socialist Ferency but not the communist Baker? Martin made it clear that she "agreed absolutely" with Ferency's socialism.

But she saw Baker as "wearing two hats," his communism and Democratic Party allegiance. She was alluding, she explained, to the relationship between his responsibilities as a candidate and his membership in the CLP.

## Nothing to sneeze at.

The final vote count showed Ferency with 25 percent and 146,741 votes to Fitzgerald's 40 percent and 231,606 votes. Ferency did carry much of black Detroit, the college towns, and the middle-class Jewish suburb of Oak Park. Beyond that, it was pretty much two-to-one Fitzgerald.

At the Roostertail, no one was ready with an analysis of why Ferency lost. Returning to Chicago, I realized it would have been much more difficult to explain his winning: had Michigan really gone for socialism or was it simply the ineptitude and pap of the other candidates?

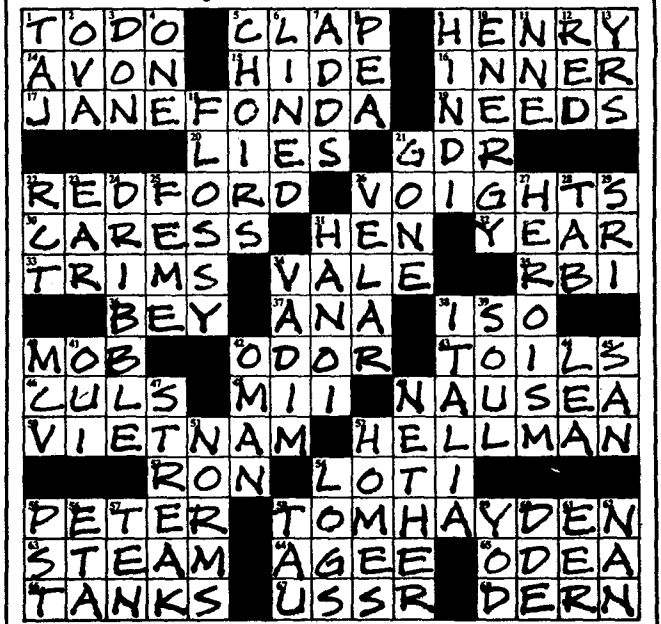
Ferency had lost because Michigan voters have had little recent experience with socialist governors or socialist programs for ending unemployment and run-away shops. Some people are already so fed up with the old ways and sufficiently wary of Headlee and other anti-government ideologues to opt for Ferency's approach, but most people are unwilling to take the risk and will, as Fitzgerald predicted, choose the "moderate" instead.

But Ferency's 25 percent, in a campaign that was relatively underfinanced and that pulled no punches, is nothing to sneeze at.

Note for the curious: on Tuesday night, it was also announced that Tiger pitcher Mark Fidrych still had stiffness in his arm, and upon his doctor's advice, would pitch no more in 1978. Tiger fans, like followers of Baker and Ferency, could therefore join in saying, "Wait until next season."

## Who am I? (No. 1)

By David Mermelstein



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Ravages of racism  
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Joseph Mdule, one of the 48 black South African leaders who, like Biko, have died in detention.

## BIKO

By Donald Woods  
Paddington Press, N.Y. 1978

It is nearly axiomatic that in this decade the lives and careers of prominent political figures become most controversial in the post-mortem. Malcolm X, for example, has been exhumed by socialists, the civil rights movement and Pan Africanists—each group claiming a special line of descent from the deceased.

On Sept. 12, 1977, Steven Biko, a leader in the South African Student Organization (SASO) and proponent of the Black Consciousness Movement, died in the custody of the South African Security Police. Donald Woods, a leading white South African journalist and a personal friend of Biko's, escaped from the country with a partial manuscript of what was to be his tribute to the slain black leader.

Begun under the scrutiny of the South African police and completed in exile, *Biko* is more about Donald Woods than about the man for whom the book is named. Woods gives us an interesting picture of the factors that shaped his personal history. "I had two distinctly separate childhoods. One was in the Xhosa (a major South African tribe) world. ...The other was my own world of English school stories and American comic books."

Woods sees himself as a mediator, a cultural emissary between oppressor and oppressed; able, thanks to the color of his skin and the nature of the social order, to drift at will from the world of Steven Biko to that of the chief of South African Security, whom Woods affectionately calls "Oom (Uncle) Jimmy."

Through this lens, Biko is seen as a kind of black caricature of Woods: a refined, articulate spiritual leader, nearly a Victorian gentleman, who—Woods finds it pertinent to note—does not even speak with a noticeable African accent; a "moderate" non-conformist, palatable even to the most politically squeamish.

With center stage occupied by Woods and family, Biko appears most vividly as family friend, joking, chatting, sipping drinks on

The other 47  
have equal claim  
to our interest  
and our  
admiration.

the veranda. Somewhere, at the periphery of the frame, is Biko the political figure, associating with other blacks, involved in ideological debates and administering community programs.

The book does contain valuable excerpts from Biko's speeches, writings and court testimony. And it is only here, when the author steps aside, that we get a sense of the charismatic black leader.

SASO and the Black People's Convention (BPC) were and are non-violent organizations out of tactical expediency, not moral conviction. They remain non-violent in order to function above-ground on South African soil, as complements to the banned liberation groups of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-African Congress (PAC).

As a leader in SASO and BPC, Biko never shared the blandly liberal assumptions of Woods. Biko's vision was international and systematic. Unlike Woods, who reduces apartheid to the politics of the majority National Party, Biko indicted the internal and external political, military and corporate powers for the continued oppression of South African blacks.

Through Woods' eyes, we get no sense of Biko's place in these broader movements, much less the dynamics of struggle within SASO and the BPC. Woods' Biko is a political chameleon, as militant or as passive as the scenery demands.

The book is valuable as a chronicle of a white South African's transformation from conservative to liberal. But although it reads as an impassioned elegy, a story of prophet and witness, it will not serve as a portrait of the Bantu, Steven Biko, nor as his final epitaph.

—Mac Margolis  
*Mac Margolis is a free-lance writer in Cambridge, Mass.*

STEVEN BIKO: No. 48  
By Hilda Bernstein

A WINDOW ON SOWETO  
By Joyce Sikakane

ZIMBABWE: The Facts about  
Rhodesia

Prepared by the International Defense and Aid Fund Research Department

The International Defense and Aid Fund, which began as an effort to raise and deliver financial assistance to the families of black political prisoners, has become in recent years an archive of research materials and a publisher of short works on the struggle against apartheid in South Africa and the liberation struggles in other black African countries.

IDAF has recently published a short book on Steven Biko (also written by an exiled white South African journalist) which gives a less personal, more political and considerably more illuminating portrait of the SASO leader and the historical context in which he operated.

Hilda Bernstein's *Steven Biko: No. 48* sketches the story of Biko's rise to leadership, clarifies his relationship to the overt and covert resistance struggles in South Africa and traces the heroically persistent effort to unravel the mystery of his death. That portion of the book reads like a detective story.

The author's conclusions—that it was a matter of unintentional murder—is buttressed by the official report of a distinguished British jurist, who was invited to attend the hearings that resulted in a white-wash of the Security Forces. His soberly conservative description of the proceedings and his assessment of South African justice is more effective than any passionate, partisan denunciation could be.

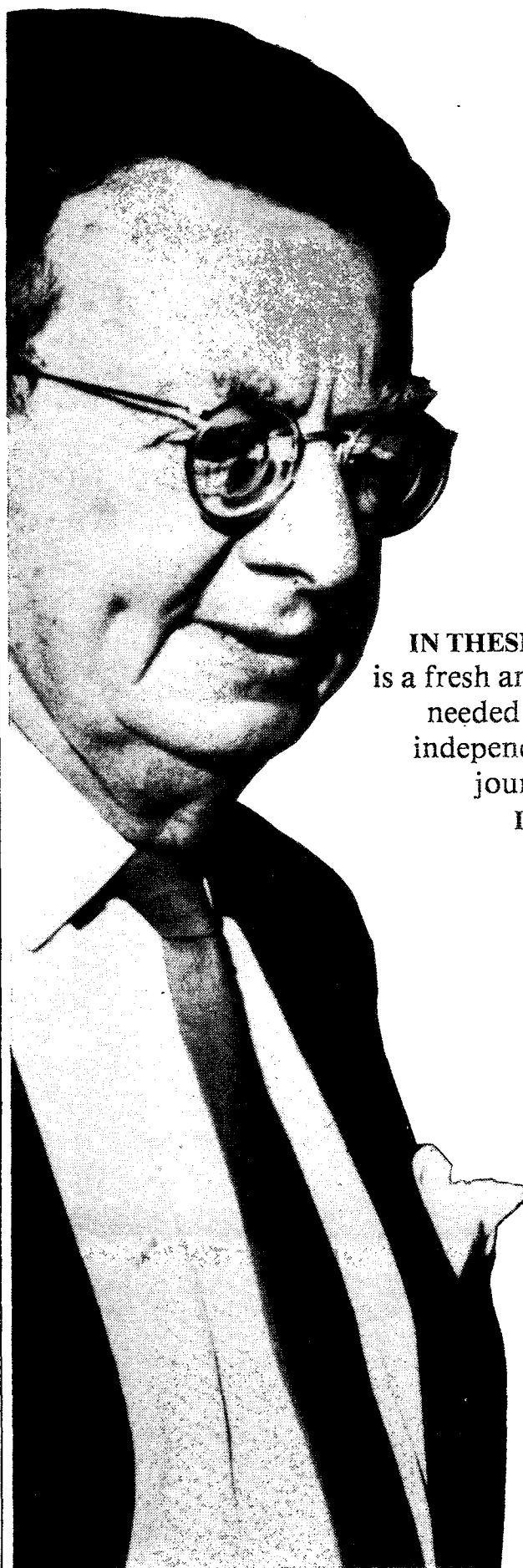
Bernstein is a veteran of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa, now continuing the struggle in London. Her grasp of the present state of affairs is reflected in the title she has chosen for her book, which reminds us that Steven Biko is the 48th black to die while in the custody of South African Security Forces. The other 47 have, in her view, equal claim to our interest and our admiration.

Two other IDAF books are particularly relevant as background to current news from the southern half of the African continent.

*A Window on Soweto* is a curious mix of autobiography and statistical reportage, written by a woman who was born in Soweto, became a journalist, suffered detention as a "terrorist," was banned and finally left the country in 1973. Joyce Sikakane was not part of the youth uprising in Soweto in 1976 (cf Hilda Bernstein's article, *ITT*, Aug. 9). But her experience and reaction to it can be read as a prediction of the "children's revolution."

*Zimbabwe: The Facts about Rhodesia* is a 74-page, well organized, copiously illustrated compendium of information on the history and economic structure of white rule in Rhodesia. It includes maps, charts and photographs, and is authoritative, if openly and passionately on the side of the liberation forces in and outside that country today.

—J.S.  
*IDAF, 104 Newgate St., London EC1A 7AP, England.*



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# Walton hits the road.



**Bill Walton, his career beset by injuries, has left the town he loves. It was Blazer health policies that prompted his decision to leave Portland.**

**By Mark Naison**

Bill Walton stunned the sports world last week by announcing that he had won his release from the Portland Trailblazers and was beginning negotiations with several other NBA teams.

For the past two years the Trailblazers have been one of the most remarkable teams in professional sports. Led by their outspoken and talented center, Bill Walton, the Blazers have played with an enthusiasm, harmony and selflessness rarely shared by professional athletes. Their beautifully designed pattern offense, sparked by Walton's pinpoint passing, their harassing defense, and their devastating rebounding and fast break carried them to an NBA championship in 1977. Last year they compiled the best record in the league before they were crippled by injuries.

To many fans, the Blazers seemed to be an island of sanity in the crazy world of professional sports, a team free from the ego-tripping, money-hunger, and petty individualism that so often characterizes owners, coaches and players. With Walton's departure the Blazer legend has come abruptly to an end.

The story behind Walton's disillusionment offers a telling commentary on the working conditions of professional athletes and the kind of internal and external pressures they are subjected to.

According to Walton's friend and agent Jack Scott, with whom I spoke at length this week, Walton decided to leave the Blazers for one reason only—because the medical practices of the Blazer management jeopardized his health and his career. During the past two seasons, Walton had been encouraged to take pain-killers and anti-inflammatory drugs so that he could play when hurt. During the 1978 playoffs he injured his foot so badly that he is still on crutches. Other Blazer players subject to the same medical care, Scott pointed out, have also had physical problems: Lloyd Neal's knee injuries may force the end of his career, Bobby Gross is still not fully recovered from a broken leg, and Lionel Hollins recently underwent a knee operation after being assured throughout the season that it wasn't necessary.

"The decision to leave the Trailblazers was extremely difficult for Bill," Scott told me. "With the exception of the policies of the Blazer management, Bill felt

he had a perfect situation here in Portland. He had unselfish teammates who played the fast-breaking style of ball he enjoyed. He was also very happy with Portland as a city and a community. The fans and the people in the city have always been very supportive, and the press here respected his privacy more than it would have in most big cities. Working conditions for the players were his only source of dissatisfaction."

Sports writers commenting on Walton's departure have dismissed the medical explanation and hinted that he is just another money-hungry ball player looking for an excuse to break his contract. But Jack Scott's recent book, *Bill Walton: On the Road with the Portland Trailblazers* (Thomas Y. Crowell), tells a different story. He offers evidence that Walton has been concerned with the problem of drug abuse in sport for a long time.

Scott's book provides a vivid and distressing picture of life in the NBA. His narrative captures the excitement and artistry of the game, the physical and psychological confrontation of team against team, player against player. He also records the awesome price the sport exacts from its participants. Worn down by an overlong season (80-odd games plus playoffs and exhibitions) and the continuous travelling, almost every player in the league is suffering from major and minor injuries by the end of the season. They are forced to take pain-killing drugs (such as xylotaine) and anti-inflammatories (such as butazolidin) in order to keep playing. Coaches and team physicians make these drugs readily available without warning players of the dangers involved. The side-effects of the drugs—weakened muscles, eye damage, and severe depression—frequently compound the players' injuries.

Scott noted that one of Walton's teammates was shot so full of pain-killers that the only way he knew he broke his shin-bone was that he heard the bone snap.

In Walton's case, he had been playing in pain most of the season. The team doctor cut a nerve in his leg to end the pain. To compensate for the loss of feeling in his leg, Walton strained his other leg. It was the foot on the strained leg that Walton broke during the playoffs.

Competitive pressures in the league are so intense that even "health conscious" players like Walton and Maurice Lucas end up taking the drugs because of their intense desire to play and their reluctance

to let down their teammates and fans.

Scott's book offers a number of concrete suggestions to help bring the medical problems in the league under control. He calls on the NBA players association to negotiate a sizeable reduction in the length of the NBA season and to insert a clause in the standard contract allowing players, rather than owners, to select team physicians. He also asks Commissioner Lawrence O'Brien to take the same kind of stance against drug abuse that he did against on-the-court violence and to "immediately request that the AMA ethics board in every city investigate the practices of their town's NBA team doctor."

In the absence of any action on these proposals, Scott told me, Walton felt compelled to deal with his medical problems individually. He is now in the process of interviewing NBA coaches, general managers, and team physicians to determine what team has a policy for treating injuries most consistent with his own views. He will be asked to be traded to that team.

Walton's actions—and Scott's book—have helped publicize issues of occupational health and safety in professional sports. But this issue must ultimately be dealt with through collective bargaining. A great player like Walton can protest drug abuse and get away with it—by forcing a trade with a coach or team doctor—but the marginal player has to take the court when hurt or lose his job. Some of the greatest sports tragedies are the unpublicized ones: cases like those of Rod Derline, a journeyman guard for the Seattle Supersonics who was encouraged to play when injured and now may be crippled for the rest of his life.

It's time that the players' association in the NBA, and in other sports, make working conditions in their profession a top priority. If the current leadership of the association proves indifferent to such concerns, politically conscious athletes such as Walton or Kareem Jabbar should form caucuses in the association and start raising questions about the dangers of drug abuse, medical malpractice, and excessive season length. They should insist that player representatives raise these issues as points of negotiation in their dealings with the owners. If they do, they may receive substantial support from fans tired of seeing money questions dominate sport, and disgusted with contract negotiations where players and owners alike display unmitigated greed. ■

Photo by Ancil Nance